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Dr. Surendra Kumar Chatterji



# SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

## JUBILEE VOLUME

Presented on the occasion of his  
Sixty-fifth Birthday  
(26th November, 1955)

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## PREFACE

It was during the first winter session in November-December 1954 of the three Schools of Linguistics sponsored by the Deccan College during 1954-55, that the Members of the Faculty of the School met to consider, among other matters, the question of honouring Dr. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI in a suitable manner. The Faculty Members discovered that Dr. CHATTERJI would be completing 65 years on the 26th of November 1955, and this gave them an opportunity of organising a Jubilee Volume as a token of their affection and respect for his scholarly attainments and personal qualities. The Faculty resolved to organise such a volume and bring it out as volume 16 of INDIAN LINGUISTICS, the official organ of the Linguistic Society of India. With the happy merger of this Society with the Indian Philological Association of Poona in the same month, and the accession to the strength of the new Society by the enrolment of scholars registered at the first and subsequent Schools, who warmly welcomed the project of the Jubilee Volume, the Faculty Members felt emboldened to undertake the onerous task of organising the Jubilee Volume. I was authorised to issue the appeal to scholars to send in their literary contributions and with the assistance of Dr. Sukumar SEN, Secretary and Dr. Madhukar A. MEHENDALE, Joint-Secretary of the Linguistic Society of India, the volume was organised and printing arrangements made with the G. S. Press in Madras.

The success of the present volume has been largely due to the spontaneous co-operation from friends and admirers of Dr. CHATTERJI and the Manager and Staff of the G. S. Press, Madras. It is a happy augury for the future, ensuring regular publication of INDIAN LINGUISTICS in its new format, under new auspices of the combined Linguistic Society of India and the Indian Philological Association. With increasing interest in Indian linguistics shown by the large attendance at the three Schools sponsored by the Deccan College and by several new Universities sanctioning new posts in Linguistics, there is every hope that the Linguistic Society of India will establish



itself as an active Society undertaking many of the fundamental researches necessary for recording the fast disappearing material scientifically and assisting in the planning and execution of the proposed new Linguistic Survey of India.

Now remains the pleasant duty of acknowledging the ungrudging help extended in the accomplishment of our objective. To the authorities of the Deccan College and the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation must be expressed our first thanks, for without the encouragement that linguistic studies have received from these two sources, the strengthening of the Linguistic Society of India would have been delayed by decades. We are grateful to the Executive Committee of the Linguistic Society for allowing us to bring out the sixteenth volume of *INDIAN LINGUISTICS* as the *Chatterji Jubilee Volume*. The Executive Committee is grateful to Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN for having graciously agreed to present this volume on behalf of the Linguistic Society to Dr. CHATTERJI, and to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference at Annamalaiagar for providing a venue for this formal presentation. For the editorial supervision I have had the unstinted co-operation of Dr. MEHENDALE who has completely taken over these responsibilities. Finally, but for the loyal co-operation of the staff of the G. S. Press and their able Manager the volume could not have been completed within the stipulated time and in a form which is worthy of the occasion. All credit for the comparative freedom from errors and the fine appearance goes to this enlightened Press which I have pleasure in acknowledging at this place.

26th November, 1955.  
Autumn School of Linguistics,  
Deccan College, Poona

}

S. M. KATRE



Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji  
(Student in London, July 1921)





## CURRICULUM VITAE

of Professor

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Lit.

(London), F.R.A.S.B.,

Bhaashacharya, Sahitya-vachaspati,

Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, Head of the Department of Comparative Philology, and Lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit, Pali, Modern Indian Languages (Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Assamese, Oriya), English, French and Islamic History and Culture, in the University of Calcutta.

- 1890 Born at Sibpur in Howrah near Calcutta (November 26).
- 1899-1919 Studied in Calcutta (Motilal Sil's Free School, Scottish Churches College and Presidency College). Graduated 1911 with First Class Honours and First Place in English; M.A., 1913, Class I with the First Place in English, with Old and Middle English and Germanic and English Linguistics as special subjects. Passed Second Examination in Vedic Sanskrit, Bengal Government Sanskrit Association Examination, 1918. Awarded Premchand Roychand Research Studentship and Jubilee Research Prize of the University of Calcutta.
- 1913-1919 Professor of English, Vidyasagar College, Calcutta, 1913. Asst. Professor of English, Calcutta University Post-Graduate Teaching Department, 1914-1919.
- 1914 Married. Wife, nee Kamala Mukherji. Has one son, Suman (born 1927) and five daughters, Ruchi (born 1929), Rama (1931), Nila (1932), Sati (1934) and Suchi (1936).
- 1919-1922 Selected for a Government of India Scholarship for Linguistic Studies in Europe. Studied in the University of London, 1919-1921. Took Diploma in Phonetics, 1920, and passed D. Lit. of London University, 1921 (subject of thesis: Indo-Aryan Philology).

In London, worked with Prof. Daniel Jones and his assistants (Phonetics), Dr. F. W. Thomas (Indo-European Linguistics), Dr. L. D. Barnett (Prakrit and Indo-Aryan), Sir E. Denison Ross (Persian), Prof. Robin Flower (Old Irish), and Professors Chambers and Grattan of University College (Old English, Gothic).

Studied in the University of Paris, 1921-1922, at the Sorbonne, the College de France and the Ecole des Langues Vivantes

Orientalis (Professors under whom he studied : Prof. Jules Bloch, Prof. Antoine Meillet, Prof. Jean Przyluski, Prof. Paul Pelliot. Subjects—Indo-Aryan, Slav and Indo-European Linguistics; Austro-Asiatic Linguistics; Sogdian, Old Khotanese; History of Greek and of Latin).

Travelled over England, Scotland, and parts of France, and in Italy, Greece and Germany.

- 1922 Returned to India (November). Appointed Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics, and made Lecturer in the main linguistic subjects in the University of Calcutta. Studied Avestan with Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala.
- 1926 Brought out from the University of Calcutta 'the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language', in two Vols., pp. xci + 1179.
- 1927-1928 Published 'Bengali Self-Taught' (in Marlborough's 'Self-taught Series', London) and 'A Bengali Phonetic Reader' (University of London Press).
- 1927 Travelled as a Member of Rabindranath Tagore's Party in Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Siam (three months). Gave lectures on Indian Art and Culture and on Rabindranath Tagore's School and Ideals in the course of this tour.
- Read a paper on the Pre-Aryan Background of Indian Civilisation before the Koninglijk Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschap of Batavia (later published in the Journal of the Genootschap).
- 1935 Second visit to Europe as Representative of the University of Calcutta at the Second International Conference of Phonetic Sciences, London: presided over the Indian Section of the Conference. Travelled in Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany and France. Lectured before the Oriental Institute of the University of Berlin.
- 1936 Elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
- 1936-37 President of the All-Burma Bengali Literary Conference, Rangoon. Travelled in Burma (Rangoon, Pegu, Toungoo, Pyinmana, Pagan and Mandalay).
- 1938 Third Visit to Europe: represented the University of Calcutta at the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences at Ghent, at the International Congress of Anthropologists at Copenhagen and at the International Congress of Orientalists at Brussels. Travelled in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Poland, Germany, Belgium and Italy.





Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji  
Sketch by Kosetsu Nosu, Japanese Artist (Frescoes in  
Mulagandhakuti Vihara, Sarnath)



- 1939 Elected Honorary Member of the Oriental Institute of Poland, Warsaw.  
 Presided over the All-Bengal Bengali Literary Conference at Comilla, East Bengal.
- 1940 Lectured on invitation before the Gujarat Vernacular Society Post-Graduate and Research Department. Eight lectures published as a book—'Indo-Aryan and Hindi', Ahmedabad, 1942.
- 1943 Published 'Languages and the Linguistic Problem' (No. 11 in 'Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs': third edition in 1945).
- 1946 Presided over the National Language Section of the 34th All-India Hindi Literary Conference, Karachi.  
 Elected Honorary Member of the Societe Asiatique, Paris.
- 1947 Elected Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society.  
 Pratibha Devi Lecturer, Government of Assam, on the subject of the Contribution of the Mongoloid Peoples in the Evolution of Indian Culture (with special reference to Assam).
- 1948 Fourth Visit to Europe, as University of Calcutta and Government of India delegate to the International Congress of Linguists and the International Congress Orientalists (Paris, July 1948) and to the International Congress of Anthropologists (Brussels, August 1948).  
 Visited Egypt (Cairo) for a week. Awarded the title of Sahitya-Vachaspati by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, December 1948, for services for Hindi Language and Literature.
- 1949 January: Elected Honorary Member of the Ecole Francaise de l'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Viet-nam.  
 December: took part in an International Committee on the Braille Alphabet called by the UNESCO in Paris. (Fifth Visit to Europe).
- 1950 Travelled in Italy, England, Holland and Turkey (Istanbul) on an educational enquiry tour on behalf of the University of Calcutta (January).
- 1950 Attended another UNESCO Conference on the Braille Alphabet (March).
- 1951 Attended third UNESCO Conference on the Arabic and Persian Braille at Beirut, Lebanon (February).
- 1951 September-1952 January: Called to Philadelphia to act as Visiting Lecturer in the School of South Asia Studies, Pennsylvania, for one semester.



- 1951 December: Visited Paris from America to attend UNESCO Conference on the Braille Script. (During stay in America called to lecture from Columbia University, New York, Yale University, New Haven and Washington Linguistic Circle, in 1951).
- 1951 February, March: Travelled in Mexico for one month on a Rockefeller Foundation subvention (Visited Mexico and surrounding places, Pueblo, Oaxaca, Tehuantepec, Merida, Uxmal & Chichen-Itza).
- 1952 June: Returned to the West Bengal Legislative Council (Upper House) as an Independent candidate from the South Bengal Graduates' Constituency.  
Unanimously elected Chairman of the Council.  
Made Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philology by the University of Calcutta for 38 years' long and distinguished service.
- 1953 February: Elected President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (served for 2 years 1953-1955).
- 1954 March: Elected Honorary Member of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences, Oslo, Norway, in its Philosophical-Historical Section.
- 1954 July-August-September: Visited West Africa (via. Egypt & Libya)—Gold Coast, Nigeria & Liberia, for 3 weeks on a subvention from the Indian Council for Cultural Relations.  
Attended International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge, August 1954, as a delegate from the Government of India, Ministry of Education.
- 1954 October-November: Attended Congress on Indonesian Language called by the Indonesian Government at Medan in North Sumatra as Government of India Education Ministry Representative. Visited Bangkok on way back.
- 1954 November & December: Participated in the work of the Winter School of Linguistics (as Honorary Professor) under the joint auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Deccan College at Poona.
- 1955 January: Awarded the *Padma-Bhushan* Order by the President of India.
- 1955 September 26th to November 2: travelled in China as a Member of the Indian Universities' Delegation invited by the University of Peking and the Peoples' Republic of China: visited Hongkong, Canton, Peking, Mukden, Shan-Yang, An-Shan, Fu-Shan, Nanking, Shanghai and Hangchow."



Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji  
(from a sketch made by Samuel Mello Lopez, Artist  
from Argentina in Mexico City, on 12 March 1952)





Elected Member of the Utrecht Society of Arts and Sciences, Holland.

Awarded Ratnakar Prize and Medal by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras for Hindi book on the Rajasthani Language.

Invited by the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A., to act as Visiting Lecturer for Indian Linguistics in the Department of South Asia Regional Studies.

Travelled extensively in India. Connected with the Universities of Dacca, Patna, Cuttack (Utkal University), Banaras, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Bombay, Poona and Nagpur as Examiner for Doctorate and other examinations, as Member of Selection Committees, and as invited Lecturer. Several times Sectional President in the All-India Oriental Conference: Vice-President of the Council of the Conference. Elected Correspondent for Indian Languages, Institute of Cultural Co-operation, League of Nations, Geneva. Made a Member of the Permanent Council for the International Conference on Phonetic Sciences, London and Ghent; of the International Editorial Board for the 'Acta Linguistica', Copenhagen; of the Permanent International Council of Linguists, Paris and Nijmegen, Holland.

Formerly Vice-President, Vangiya Sahitya Parishad (Academy of Bengali Literature), Calcutta; connected with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as Vice-President and Philological Secretary; Honorary Member of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Hindi Literary Academy), Banaras; Honorary Member, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Bombay; Honorary Member, Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute, Bikaner, Rajasthan. Connected with other Universities and Research and Cultural Institutes in India.

Connected with the Visva-Bharati University founded by Rabindranath Tagore as a Member of its Governing Body for a long number of years.

Appointed Member of some Educational and Linguistic Committees and Boards of Experts by the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal.

In addition to the books mentioned above, author of a large number of papers and monographs, in English, Bengali and Hindi, on linguistic, literary, historical, art, travel and general topics. One

of the well-known prose writers of Bengali; has written extensively on his travels in Europe and Asia, and on linguistic subjects. His 'Dwipamaya Bharata' or 'Indonesia' won warm praise from Rabindranath Tagore.

An Educationist of 36 years of standing. Acknowledged to be a Leader in the domain of the Linguistic Science in India. Rabindranath Tagore dedicated his book on the Bengali language to him, and gave him the title of 'Bhaashacharya' or 'Master of Speech'.

Is interested keenly on the question of International Kinship and Co-operation in Cultural Matters. Has prepared for the UNESCO a monograph on the Culture of India and its Value in the Modern World. Has studied and spoken as well as written on the Cultural Trends in Various Lands (Indonesia, Burma, West Africa, Mexico, Turkey, Egypt, etc.) Is well-known in Select Intellectual and Academic Circles in many countries of the world.



## BRIEF SKETCH OF FAMILY HISTORY

Vitaraga, Samavedin (Kauthumi Branch) Brahman of the Kasyapa clan, ancestor of the Chatterji and a number of other Brahman families of Bengal some 30 generations ago, is believed to have come with four other Brahmans from Kanyakubja (Kanauj) in Northern India (Uttara Pradesh, U. P.), and settled in West Bengal in the 11th or 12th century A.D. One of his grandsons Sulochana, the son of Daksha, was honoured by King Ballalāsena of Bengal (1158-1179) and granted the village of Chatuti in West Bengal, whence the family name 'Chaturjya' or Chatterji, Sanskritised as 'Chattopadhyaya'.

After the Turki conquest of West Bengal in the 13th century, the family is believed to have migrated into East Bengal. Eleventh in descent from Vitaraga was Avasathin Sarvesvara, who performed some Vedic sacrifices. Eighteenth generation from Vitaraga was Ravikara, early 17th century, who became a member of the Sarvananda 'Mel' or Group of West Bengal Brahmans. Twentieth in descent was Yadava Sarvabhauma, a great Sanskrit scholar. Twenty-sixth was Bhairava Chandra, great-grandfather of Professor Chatterji, who came from East Bengal and settled in Hugli District in West Bengal. Iswar Chandra, one of his sons, Professor Chatterji's grand-father (died 1906), studied Persian and English, and served the East India Company in North India during the 'Mutiny' (or War of Independence) of 1857. He built his house and settled in Calcutta. Professor Chatterji's father Babu Haridas Chatterji (1862-1945) served in an English mercantile firm in Calcutta for over 40 years, and he was a good Poet in Bengali and a Musician (Violinist) of note. Professor Chatterji is the second of four brothers, one of whom, the eldest, Anadi Krishna, passed away some years ago.



## LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS OF DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

### (A) In English:

- (1) Origin & Development of the Bengali Language, in Two Vols., 1300 pages: University of Calcutta, 1926.
- (2) Bengali Self-Taught, London, 1927.
- (3) A Bengali Phonetic Reader, University of London, 1928.
- (4) Edition of the *Varna-ratnakara*, the oldest Maithil Text Extant (with Pandit Babua Misra), with critical and linguistic introduction: Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1940.
- (5) Indo-Aryan and Hindi, Ahmedabad, 1942 (Translated into Gujarati and Hindi).
- (6) Languages and the Linguistic Problem, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 1945.
- (7) The National Flag and other Essays, Calcutta, 1944.
- (8) *Kirāta-jana-Kyti*, or the Indo-Mongoloids, and their Contribution to the History and Culture of India: Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1951.
- (9) Linguistic Introduction to the *Uktieyakti Prakarana*, a text in Sanskrit and Old Awadhi, as edited by Muni Sri Jinavijayaji, Bombay, 1953.
- (10) The Indian Synthesis, and Racial and Cultural Intermixture in India: being the Presidential Address delivered before the 17th All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad, 1953.
- (11) Assam and India: A course of Lectures delivered before Gauhati University: 1954.

Besides over 180 published articles on linguistic, cultural and general subjects, and over 100 Radio talks, in English.

### (B) In Bengali:

- (1) An edition of the Portuguese work on Bengali Grammar by Manoel da Assumpção (1743), with Bengali Translation, in collaboration with Prof. P. R. Sen.
- (2) *Chandīdāsa-Padāvalī* (A Critical Edition of the *Padas of Chandīdāsa*) in collaboration with Pandit Hare-Krishna Mukherji, *Sahitya-ratna*; Vol. I only: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1933.

- (3) *Paśchimer Yātrī* (The Pilgrim to the West: Travels in Europe in 1935): 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1947.
- (4) *Dwīpamaya Bhārata* (Travels in Indonesia with Rabīndranath Tagore in 1927): Calcutta, 1940.
- (5) *Bāṅgālā Bhāṣhātattwer Bhūmikā* (Introduction to the Linguistics of Bengali), Calcutta University, 6th edition, 1950.
- (6) *Bhāṣhā-Prakāśa Bāṅgālā Vyākaraṇa* (A Comprehensive Bengali Grammar): Calcutta University, 3rd edition, Calcutta, 1945.
- (7) *Jāti, Saṃskṛiti O Sāhitya* (Race, Culture & Literature): A series of Essays: 3rd edition, Calcutta, 1947.
- (8) *Bhārata-Saṃskṛiti* (the Culture of India): Essays: Calcutta, 1944.
- (9) *Vaidesīkī* (Eight Studies in Romance, History and Culture of Foreign Lands): 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1947.
- (10) *Bhārater Bhāṣhā O Bhāṣhā-Saṃasyā* (The Languages and Linguistic Problems of India): Visva-bharati, Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1946.
- (11) *Europe, 1938* (Travels in Europe, 1938), Part I & Part II, Calcutta, 1944.

Besides, a number of Text-books, and over 180 published papers, articles, presidential addresses and introduction to books in Bengali and over 100 Radio talks.

(C) *In Hindi:*

- (1) *Rājasthānī Bhāṣhā* (The Rajasthani Language): Three Lectures: Rajasthan Visva-Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1949 (Awarded Ratnakar Prize as the best book of the year in Hindi on a linguistic subject by Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras).
- (2) *Ritambharā* (A Series of Essays, Literary, Historical and Cultural), Allahabad, 1951.
- (3) *Bhārat-Kī Bhāṣhāen aur Bhāṣhā-Saṃasyāen* (The Languages and Linguistic Problems of India): Allahabad, 1951.
- (4) *Bhāratīya Ārya-Bhāṣhā aur Hindī* (The Indo-Aryan Speech and Hindi): Introduction to the History of the Indo-Aryan Speech and to the Development and Problem of Hindi: Delhi, 1954.

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## LEXICOLOGICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE KĀRĀṆḌAVYŪHASŪTRA

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The Kāraṇḍavyūha (cited in subsequent lines as Kv.) is a text belonging to the third class of EDGERTON's classification of Sanskrit Buddhist literature;<sup>1</sup> it means that here both verses and prose are composed in a language intended to be current Sanskrit, tolerably correct in grammar, but showing frequently Prakritic features of style and construction and using a particular "Buddhist" vocabulary. According to the more detailed classification of Professor John BROUGH<sup>2</sup> Kv. would present the characteristics of the late Avadāna style and of the medieval Buddhist Sanskrit, frequent in tantric works, though not confined to them. Moreover, it was undoubtedly a work of popular character and as such has preserved in its vocabulary, along with a lot of well known Buddhist technical and semitechnical terms, a certain amount of words unrecorded elsewhere. From that point of view it is a rather important document for the study of the history of the Sanskrit popular vocabulary.

A great part of these lexical features have been listed by Professor Franklin EDGERTON in his invaluable "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary". But the author of that monumental work had at his disposal only a non-critical printed edition of the Kv.<sup>3</sup> and he could not consult either the Tib. or the Chin. versions. This printed edition is a very peculiar one; its readings differ almost in every line from the evidence of the majority of the Mss., and there is no possibility to control how far these readings are based on a particular (and obviously very corrupt) Ms. or represent the emendations of the editor.

1. Franklin EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, New Haven 1953, vol. I, p. xxv.

2. John BROUGH, *The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, BSOAS, 1954, xvi/2, pp. 389 ff.

3. Kāraṇḍavyūha, ed. by Satyavratā Sāmaśrī in *The Hindu Commentator* vol. 5, 1872.

The present writer is preparing a critical edition of the Kv. on the basis of many Nepalese Mss. (from the 14th till the 19th centuries); he had the privilege to consult the unfortunately incomplete Ms. of the Gilgit collection and could compare all those readings with Tib. and Chin. translations. On the basis of these sources, the lexical peculiarities of the Kv. appear in a new light. The work on the edition of Kv. being not yet finished, the data that I can present here are necessarily incomplete. But I hope that the already acquired results are of certain interest for the scholars working in the field of Indian historical lexicography. And with this hope I allow myself to offer these few gleanings as a token of my deep esteem for the guru of modern Indian linguists and the highly respected friend Dr. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJĪ.

*Words recorded till now exclusively in the Kv.*

# I

## 1. Garments and ornaments.

<sup>o</sup>uttaryā "ornamental covering."

This word appearing exclusively as the second member of a Tatpuruṣa seems to be of feminine gender; in longer compounds it has the form <sup>o</sup>uttaryā- and its Plural <sup>o</sup>uttaryāṇi does not prove that it is also neuter, since the ending -āṇi is in the Kv., as in many other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, a general plural termination for all the three genders (cf. in the Kv. *stambhāṇi*, *vrkṣāṇi*, *upānahāṇi*, etc.).<sup>4</sup> Its meaning is undoubtedly "covering," and EDGERTON's explanation of this word<sup>5</sup> as derived from the Skt. and Pali *uttariya* "upper or outer garment" through AMg. *uttariya* in the way of hypersanskritization is very convincing. This hapax legomenon of the Kv. appears in three Tatpuruṣas: *karaṇapṛṣṭhottaryā* (two references), *hastottaryā* and *karaṇottaryā*. The exact meaning of these compounds must have been obscure already to the Tibetan and Chinese translators of the Kv. The first mentioning of *karaṇapṛṣṭhottaryā* (printed edition 7·20)<sup>6</sup> is completely misunderstood. We find in the Tib. text *phyi-rol-na rin-po-che'i gdu-bu*. *Rin-po-che* is probably a misreading *ratna* for *karaṇa* and in *phyi-rol-na* we can find either the translation of "outer" of <sup>o</sup>uttaryā or an awkward rendering of *pṛṣṭha* (though *phyi-rol-na* means generally "outside", *phyi* alone has also the meaning of "back"). The Chinese translates "variegated lotus flowers", which can correspond to a false reading *karbupuspotpala*. At the second mentioning of this word (pr. ed. 30·12) the Tib. refrains from translating and the Chinese

4. Cf. C. REGAMEY, *Randbemerkungen zur Sprache und Textüberlieferung des Kāraṇavyūha*, *Asiatica*, Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig 1954, p. 526.

5. BHS Dictionary, s.v. 1 *uttariya*.

6. Cf. the foot-note 3. Cited here by page and line.



repeats his "flowers". And yet one can observe precisely on Tibetan statues of female goddesses a characteristic ornament covering the posterior and upper part of the ears which corresponds very exactly to the etymology of *karaṇapṛṣṭhottaryā*.

*karaṇottaryā*<sup>7</sup> denotes a similar ornament. Here the Tib. translation is clear: *sñan-gyi goñ rgyan* "the upper ornament of the ear."

To *hastottaryā*, left untranslated in Chin., corresponds in the Tib. text *se-ral-gyi rgyan*. The meaning of *se-ral*, unrecorded in usual dictionaries, can be deduced from *se-ral-kha* "garment covering the shoulders until the armpits" and from the Mahāvīyutp. 6030 *se-ral-'phreñ* = *pārśvasūtraka*. Thus *hastottaryā* seems to denote a vesture for shoulders (short pelerine? epaulets?).

*aṅguṣṭhavibhedikāni*.

*aṅguṣṭha* "finger-ring, thumb-nail" (?)

The last of the above mentioned enumerations of ornaments (pr. ed. 78-21) contains a hapax *aṅguṣṭhavibhedikāni*. EGERTON accepts in his Dictionary the translation proposed already by SCHMIDT, *Nachträge*<sup>8</sup> and repeated in the Additions to the new edition (1951) of the Dictionary of MONIER-WILLIAMS: "thumb-separator, a kind of mitten with separate hole for thumb." Linguistically it is undoubtedly the best interpretation of this word. Yet, the Tib. version gives for that word the translation *sor-gdub-gyi rnam-pa* which means "(different) kinds of finger-rings". This interpretation presupposes 1.) that *vibhedika* can have the same meaning as *vibheda* and 2.) that *aṅguṣṭha* can denote a finger-ring. The first eventuality is not quite excluded, especially if we impute to *vibhedikā* a feminine gender (with the same general plural ending *-āni*). The suffix *-ikā* can form such abstracts from verbal roots, e.g. *āśikā* "the act of eating", *jīvikā* "life", and also *bhedikā* "distinction".<sup>9</sup> On the contrary the meaning "finger-ring" of *aṅguṣṭha* is till now unrecorded. But the Kv. itself seems to corroborate this interpretation. In an earlier enumeration of ornaments we find: (*kumārīṇām*) ..... *hastottaryā-karaṇapṛṣṭhottaryā-hastāṅgulīyānām vāmāṅguṣṭhasamāyuktānām*<sup>10</sup>. The

7. So all the Mss. but one, which has *karaṇapṛṣṭhottaryāni*. The pr. ed. (78. 21) has a false reading *pṛṣṭhottaryāni*.

8. R. SCHMIDT, *Nachträge zum Sanskrit Wörterbuch*.... von Otto Boeckling, 1928.

9. Cf. WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen 1954), § 300.

10. This reading is based on the majority of Mss. They all differ from the text of the pr. ed. (30. 12) which drops *vāmāṅguṣṭha*.



translation of the last epithet as "(girls) . . . endowed with the left thumb" is of course absurd. The position of the words in enumeration does not allow one to consider *vāmāṅguṣṭha* as attributive to *hastāṅgulīya*. Accordingly, the Tib. translates separately *hastāṅgulīya* (*sor-gdub* "finger-ring") and *vāmāṅguṣṭhasamāyukiā* (*mtse-bo gyon-pa sor-gdub dan ldan-pa* "endowed with rings for the left thumb"). If in the first case the Tib. interpretation was not very convincing, here this is the only reasonable translation. Would *āṅguṣṭha* in both cases represent an imperfect sanskritization of a MIA *āṅguṣṭha* derived from *āṅguṣṭhya* "thumb nail"? Would it denote perhaps the long artificial metallic finger such as oriental dancers bear during their performances?

## 2. Onomatopoetic verbs

*raṇaraṇāyate* and *jhaṇajhaṇāyate* "to tinkle, jingle"

The tinkling produced by the above mentioned ornaments is rendered in the Kv. by a series of onomatopoetic participles translated in the Tib. version uniformly by *sgra sil sil mchi*, but appearing in the Mss. in very divergent forms. The printed edition records three participles of that kind: *raṇaraṇāyamāna* (30·4), *sarasarāyamāna* (30·13) and *rūṇarūṇāyamāna* (86·18). Though all these words are unknown to the standard Sanskrit and unrecorded in the dictionaries, EDGERTON lists in his Dictionary merely *sarasarāyamāna* (s. v. *sarasarāyate*), that is precisely the unique of those words which is not found elsewhere than in the printed edition. In the Mss. we find: *jharajharāyamāna*, *jharujharāyamāna*, *jhurujhirāyamāna*, *surusurāyamāna* and completely corrupt forms like *raarāyamāna* or *arakurāyamāna*. Yet, this chaotic evidence is not so hopeless as it appears at the first view. The resemblance of the Nepalese akṣaras *jha*, *a*, *ṛ*, *sa* explains the diversity of various readings and, on the other side, the similarity of the akṣaras *ra* and *na* allows to reconstruct the original form, which could easily have given rise to all these monstrosities of the copyists, as *jhaṇajhaṇāyamāna*. And the interchange of *na* and *ra* being constant in those texts, we come finally to the onomatopoetic verb *jhaṇajhaṇāyate* well attested even in the Kāvya Sanskrit.

For the first reference the readings are not so divergent, and the great majority of the Mss. confirm *raṇaraṇāyamāna*. Here we have a new word, recorded in this form only in the Kv., but which can be easily derived from the noun *raṇa* cited by EDGERTON with the meaning "sound" (*brāhmasparādhika-raṇa*, *Divyāvadāna* 401·3-4) and especially from *raṇaraṇa* "tinkling sound" cited by SCHMIDT, *Nachträge*, from the *Samayamātṛka* iii, 21. Thus *sarasarāyate* must be cancelled in EDGERTON's Dictionary and a verb *raṇaraṇāyate* must be added.



It is very probable that the original form of the third reference of the Kv. was also *raṇarāyāyāmāna*. But only two Mss. support this reading, all the others giving *raṇarūṇāyāmāna*. The persistence of *u* in the variant readings (also in the cases like *jharujharāyāmāna*, *jhurujhīrāyāmāna*, *surusurāyāmāna*) is so great that, quite probably, we have here not a simple graphic lapsus, but a genuine neologism, the instability of vowels being normal in onomatopoetic words.

We find a similar interchange of vowels (but going in an opposite direction) in another onomatopoetic participle of the Kv. viz. in *guḍaguḍāyāmāna* "producing a grumbling noise."

We cannot separate that word from the well attested *guḍuguḍāyate* (Sūsruta, 2, 461, 16, Meghasūtra 288, 15, etc.) or *gulugulāyati* (Meghasūtra 294.12). Anyhow, the Mss. of the Kv. being unanimous for *guḍaguḍ*<sup>11</sup>, there is no need for "correcting" their reading.

### 3. *valkalā* "intestine"

The just mentioned word for grumbling is used in the Kv. to describe the noise produced by the burning entrails of men condemned in the hells to swallow pills of melted iron. The corresponding passage in the pr. ed. (37.6) runs as follows: *teṣāṃ oṣṭhāṃ api dantāni viśīryante tālūni viṣphuṣante kaṇṭhāṃ api tālūṃ api hṛdayaṃ api yantravat kalā niguḍāyāmānāḥ sarvaṃ taṃ kāyaṃ dahyante*. The evidence of the Mss. and the comparison with analogous "clichés" in other Buddhist texts allows correcting many of these awkward forms: *dantā'pi* for *dantāni*, *nālam* for *tālūṃ*,<sup>11</sup> *guḍaguḍāyāmānāni* for *niguḍāyāmānā*, *ni* belonging to the preceding word. But precisely this preceding word is difficult and might have been enigmatic from the beginning, since the Tib. refrains from translating it and adds simply *gzhan yan* "and other (organs)". Yet, the readings of the Mss. are almost unanimous. We find once *antravatkalāni*, twice *antravatkalāni* and, in all other Mss., *antraval-kalāni*.

My proposition is to consider this *°valkala* or *°vatkala* as a false sanskritization of a MIA *\*vakkalā* which might have been derived from OIA *vṛkalā* recorded in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 12, 5, 2.5. The context, concerned with the rites of purification of a corpse, shows clearly that this hapax (*vṛkalā sapuriṣā*) can be only a name of a part or a kind of intestines. For the etymology of this word cf. Sanskrit *vṛkka*, Pali *vakka* "kidney". With

11. *tālūṃ*, recorded by all Nepalese Mss., is not only grammatically incorrect, but the return in the enumeration to the just mentioned palate is not logical. The correct reading is supported merely by Gilgit (*nālam api*), but it is confirmed by the Tib. *lkog-ma* "oesophagus".



this meaning the hypothetical \**vakkalā* would perfectly fit *antra-*. Both *vatkala* and *vakkala* could be wrong sanskritizations of that word, but \**vakkala* seems more probable, not only because it represents the reading of the majority of the Mss., but also because it can be more easily explained. The fortuitous identity of \**vakkala* with the MIA name of the bark of a tree can have suggested an identical sanskritization *vakkala* which in usual Sanskrit denotes precisely the bark.

#### 4. *dhātvaṅvaropana* "depositing of relics" (in a stūpa).

According to EDGERTON's Dictionary (s. v. *avaropana*) this compound occurs exclusively in the Kv. Professor BROUGH, however, has found this word also in the *Dvāvimśatyavadāna*, x, and in the colophon of the *Subhāsitaratnakaraṇḍa*.<sup>12</sup> As I have already pointed out,<sup>13</sup> the correct form must have been *dhātvaṅropana*, as shown by *āropayati* (*Divyāvadāna* 484·13 and 485·18) meaning "to bury"<sup>14</sup> and, for the Kv., by the unfortunately single and incomplete evidence of the Gilgit Ms. : . . . *tuāropanā*; the words with \**āva-* of the Nepalese Mss. might have resulted from a misinterpreted sandhi (*dhāt*) *vā*.<sup>15</sup> This form, however, occurs not only in almost all the variant readings of the Kv., but also in the references cited by BROUGH. Thus it seems that, though the ancient and correct form (for which we have till now only the evidence of Gilgit and of the variant readings of the *Subhāsitaratnakaraṇḍa*<sup>16</sup>) was *dhātvaṅropana*, the corruption *dhātvaṅvaropana* must have been old and adopted by the Buddhist tradition. As such it deserves to be accepted as a real quasi technical Buddhist term and cannot be banished as a mere false reading.

## II

### *agnikhadā* "fire-pit"

This word is by no means a hapax legomenon. It has been listed in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (6622, with the Tib. translation *me-mur-gyi* 'obs; in the

12. *The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, p. 363, foot-note.

13. *Randbemerkungen* . . . p. 521, foot-note 13.

14. To which we can add now *dhātur āropayate*, *dhātoḥ samāropana*, *dhātum āropya* and *dhātvaṅropana* quoted by BROUGH, op. cit., p. 363, foot-note.

15. BROUGH suggests in the same foot-note that *avaropana* may have resulted from a contamination of *ropana* with *avaropana*. But I am convinced that *dhātu-avaropana* has never existed, since the meaning of *avaropana* ("withdrawal, cutting off, discrediting" etc.) is opposite to the required sense of "depositing of relics".

16. The two or three references of *dhātvaṅropana* in Nepalese Mss. of the Kv. are so rare in comparison to the majority of readings with \**avaropana*, that we can consider them as graphical omissions of the akṣara *va* rather than as evidences preserving the old form.



Tib. version of Kv. simpler: *me 'obs*), and numerous references are found in the whole Sanskrit Buddhist Literature (cf. EDGERTON's Dictionary, p. 4). But the history of this word is rather curious and deserves a larger analysis than those made till now.

U. WOGIHARA states in his work "Lexikalisches aus der Bodhisattva-bhūmi" p. 26,<sup>17</sup> that the Buddhists use *khadā* exclusively in the compound *agnikhadā*. But EDGERTON quotes (p. 203) also *āṅgārakhadā* "pit of coals" from the Avadānaśataka 1. 221.8. And it would be difficult to separate the latter from the till now mysterious Pali *imghālakhū* (Therīgāthā 386) explained in the Therīgāthā Commentary as *āṅgārakāsu*. This Pali word seems to point to the original \**imghālakhā*, the formation being of the same kind as in *vedagū*, *pāragū*, *sabbāññu*, *viññu* etc. Anyhow, this limitation of *khadā* in the Buddhist tradition to the words denoting fire or coal pits is rather striking, especially because this word is completely missing in the classical Sanskrit. Yet *khadā* might have existed during all that time in the popular language, since it is recorded so to say on both extremities of the history of Indo-Aryan languages. In the Sanskrit literature it occurs only in the Kauśikasūtra of the Atharvaveda,<sup>18</sup> in a text of an undoubtedly popular character and containing many rare and elsewhere unrecorded words. The explanation of this word given by Dārila-bhaṭṭa in his Kauśikabhāṣya—*khadā*=*gartaḥ*, *śrabhāvajal*—proves that we have here exactly the same word as in *agni-khadā*. On the other side we have in modern Hindi the verb *khodnā* "to dig, to carve" and the noun *khadān*. Contrary to the old *khadā*, meaning "natural cavity", this *khadān* denotes rather "a ditch dug for some purpose, a mine". But there can be no doubt that we have here the same word, though it seems rather astonishing that it has not undergone more important phonetic modifications during such a lapse of time.<sup>19</sup> It is also striking that in NIA a word so similar to Sanskrit *khadā* occurs, as far as I could state it, only in Hindi, other languages having either derivations and tatsamas of classical Sanskrit *khani*, *khāta* (this also in Hindi), etc. or words pointing to MIA \**khāda*-, \**khadda*-, \**khalla*- (cf. TURNER's Nepali Dictionary s. vv. *khārai*, *khāri*, *khālco*).

Till now Sanskrit *khadā* seems to have escaped the attention of the etymologists. In fact it is rather difficult to find any plausible OIA etymology

17. Paper included in WOGIHARA's edition of the Bodhisattva-bhūmi, Tokyo, 1930-1936.

18. Cf. The Kauśika-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda; with extracts from the Commentaries of Dārila and Keśava. Ed. by Maurice BLOOMFIELD. JAOS, xlv, 1890, 38. 7 and 45. 1.

19. It would be difficult to consider Hindi *khadān* as a Tatsama, since *khadā* was practically unknown to the Sanskrit literary tradition.



for this word. Morphologically impeccable would be only the derivation from the root *khad* (Dhātupāṭha iii, 13) "to be steady, to kill, to eat", but it is highly improbable semantically, and besides, this verbal base seems to be quite artificial. Still less convincing would be the connection with *khād* "to eat". There remains the derivation from the root *khan* "to dig, excavate" which is quite naturally suggested by the signification of *khādā*,<sup>20</sup> but morphologically this derivation is excluded not only because the suffix *-da* is extremely rare, but principally on account of the short *a* in the root, the weak form of *khan* being regularly *khā-* (*khāta*, *khāti*, *khātra*, etc.). Yet, there is a possibility of defending this derivation when we consider *khādā* as a Prakritism. In Pali the past participle *khāta* interchanges with *khata* which has also the meaning "dug up, uprooted" (cf. also *palikhata* "dug round"). The latter form presents no artificial shortening of *a*, but results from the contamination, in MIA, of the verbs *khanati* = OIA *khanati* "to dig" and *khanati* < OIA *kṣanoti* "to hurt, injure, wound". Thus *khata* represents OIA *kṣata*, but, owing to the confusion of both verbs, also takes the meanings of *khāta*. The voicing of intervocalic *t* is normal for the MIA, and thus we can easily admit that at the side of the genuine *khāta* (which since the oldest time had also the substantival meaning of "excavation, ditch, well, pond"), there existed a popular form *\*khada* with the same meaning. There remains, however, the difficulty of explaining the feminine gender of the latter which is extremely rare in verbal adjectives with substantival function; *āyatā* "an arrow (put on), a musical interval", Vedic *sītā* "furrow" (from the IE *\*sci-* "to sow"?<sup>21</sup>) *jivitā* "life" (at the end of compounds) are rather poor evidences.

But there exist more important difficulties for this etymology. Precisely if we consider *khādā* as a Prakritism, we cannot separate it from the vocables of the same meaning actually attested in Prākṛit like *khatta*, *gaḍa* "hole", *khadḍā* (feminine!) "mine" and also the above mentioned MIA forms suggested by the NIA. All these words cannot be derived from the same prototype *\*khāta/khata*. And when we find a series of words having practically the same meaning, resembling phonetically but defying all the rules of phonology and morphology, it is very probable that we are dealing with loanwords from a foreign language. And precisely our group of words has been recently dealt with by the specialist of Munda loanwords in IA, Professor F. B. J. KUIPER.<sup>22</sup> He adds to the above mentioned MIA forms Vedic

20. And also by a close parallel between *aṅgānkhadā* and Pali *ṅghālakhu*, where *khu* < *khā* < *khan*.

21. Cf. WACKENAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, § 436 a.

22. F. B. J. KUIPER, *Two Rigvedic Loanwords*, *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung*, Festschrift Albert DEBRUNNER, Bern 1954, p. 243. I am indebted to Dr. M. MAYRHOFER for having drawn my attention on this point of the paper of KUIPER.



*kartā* and *gārta* "hole, cavity", *kātā* "depth, hole, bottom", Sanskrit lex. *khalla* "pit, canal, trench" and also Hindi *khadān* (but he omits our *khadā*), and suggests for all these words the Munda origin, quoting as immediate cognates Santali *gaḍlak'*, *ghaḍlak'* "a pit, hollow in the ground", *khandlak'* "a ditch, pit, hole", *khondlak'* id., *kondha* "a cave, hollow", etc. Though I am not convinced by the proposition of connecting old *kartā*, *gārta*, *kātā* with the other words of that group, this suggestion seems to me the only possible explanation of so divergent and yet similar words as *gaḍa*, *khatta*, *khalla*, *khadḍā* and also our *khadā*.

## III

There remain at the end a few remarks to be made which bring no new lexicological data, but can furnish slight corrections or supplements to some entries of EDGERTON'S Dictionary.

*anyonya* in the meaning "various, different" (= *anyamanya*).

To add to the references listed by EDGERTON (p. 42) also the Kv. The printed edition 31.21 has *nāṇḍjanturūpeṇa*, but the Mss. inclusive Gilgit show *anyonyarūpeṇa* or *anya anyarūpeṇa* (only two Mss. give *anyarūpeṇa* which is but a lectio facilior).

*jṛmbhīkṛta* in the meaning "made to appear, caused to stand out."

EDGERTON was induced to this unusual translation of the reference of Kv. (pr. ed. 31.11) by the context which speaks of heavily locked and barricaded gates. Now, the Chin. and Tib. versions confirm this interpretation which has not been stated in any other text. The Chin. translator renders *jṛmbhīkṛtāni* (*dāvārāni*) exactly in the same manner as EDGERTON'S "(the gates) were caused to stand out". The Tib. translation *bkum-mo* is not clear: "(the gates) were crooked, bent together (?)". Anyhow, it does not support the meaning "opened", and this peculiar meaning of *jṛmbhīkṛta* in the Kv. deserves listing.

*mahānagna* "athlete."

In this case, on the contrary, the Tib. version does not confirm the assertions of EDGERTON. The pr. ed. of the Kv. 41.21 has an obvious mistake *mahā-magna* which is rightly corrected by EDGERTON into *mahānagna*. We can add that at least 3 Mss. give here *mahānāga*, which is thus a form occurring not only in Pali, but known also to Nepalese copyists. Yet, both Gilgit and the oldest Nepalese Mss. confirm *nagna*. As to the meaning of this word, EDGERTON (p. 423) states: "pw and SPEYER, Av. Index render *athlete*, but this is only an attempt to explain the word etymologically; it is implausible, and opposed by Tib." And he quotes the Tib. translations from *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Lalita-*



vistara tshan-po "dignitary, grandee". Now, the translation "athlete" is not an invention of occidental authors only, but it was known also to the ancient translators. The Tib. version of this place of the Kv. has the translation *stobs-po che* = "great athlete".

*melandu (ka)* "ink-bottle."

The form *merañḍu* listed by EDGERTON on the authority of the pr. ed. of Kv. (92.7) has to be cancelled. The constant confusion of *r* and *l* is the well known orthographical habit of Nepalese copyists. The great majority of the Mss. of Kv. give in this place the reading *melandu* or *melañḍu* and there is no evidence in the Kv. (till now, the only Sanskrit Buddhist text which, together with the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, records *melandu[ka]*) which could suggest that there existed a genuine, not only graphical form of this word with *r*. The original form of this word is of course Sanskrit lex. *melāndhu* derived from *melā* "ink" (of Greek origine?) + *andhu*.

*vidrāpaṇa* "putting to flight".

To the evidences of this form from *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa*,<sup>23</sup> listed by EDGERTON under this entry, must be added Kv. 11.19. The pr. ed. contains the standard Sanskrit *vidrāvāṇa*, but this is probably the unnecessary correction of the editor. All the Mss. of Kv. give here the genuine Buddhist Sanskrit form *vidrāpaṇa*.

23. Cf. further references quoted from *Sūtiāpatra* by H. W. BAILEY in JRAS, April 1955, p. 23.

## VÉDIQUE NĪRRTI

BY

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Parmi les forces nocives que la Veda mentionne en abondance, se trouve le nom *nīrṛti*. La forme de ce mot est bien claire: dérivé en -ti- (donc, comportant a priori quelque valeur dynamique qui le prête à la personification) de la racine *r-* (*ar*) indiquant un certain ordre fixé, un arrangement prévisible du temps, du cosmos, de l'activité humaine ou rituelle: c'est cette valeur d'ordre qui semble bien être à la base des dérivés *ṛtá*, *ṛtú*, *āram*, et même *ārtha* au sens de "destination".

Avec le préverbe *nīs*, *nīrṛti* signifiera inversement le "dés-ordre", le terme notera un facteur d' "entropie" (s'il est licite de transférer ici ce terme issu de sciences exactes) dans les représentations védiques.<sup>1</sup>

Le mot n'apparaît pas dans la grande hymnologie du RV., mais seulement dans les hymnes ou passages de caractère magique, impliquant quelque dépréciation personnelle. De là, sa relative fréquence dans les portions magiques de l'AV. Dans leur monde conventionnel, les Rṣi redoutent que s'installe le désordre, la dés-organisation du monde: ils se la représentent sous

1. Comme il arrive souvent dans les verbes védiques, la racine *r-* (*ar-*) présente des traces d'une ambivalence, en sorte qu'on a la valeur privative ou ségrégative dans l'adverbe *ṛtá* "sans", dans des dérivés comme *draṇa*, *ārāt*, peut-être *fdhak* (qui est également ambivalent); le verbe lui-même figure au moins une fois au sens de "mettre en fuite, disperser" (LI38,2) et le substantif *ṛti* désigne une force nocive. Cet emploi "nocif" est aussi celui que mettent en évidence, outre *nīrṛti*, les dérivés à préverbe *āvartī* et *āvī* (l'un et l'autre aux côtés de *n* dans AV. X.2,10), ainsi que *sāmṛti*.—D'autre part, un doublet de *n* est le masc. *nīrṛthā*, hapax du manḍ. VII; on retrouve ce terme dans l'AV. en variante de RV. *nyarthā* (V.3,9) "perdition" (*nyarthā* s'oppose à *ārtha*, comme *nīrṛti* à *ṛtá*, dans un autre passage de RV. VII.18,9; cf. aussi *nyārṇpita* dit des arbres "prostrés" par le vent AV. X.3,15); on le trouve encore dans deux passages de l'AV., XII.2,14 comme épithète du feu "annihilateur" (MS. *nīrṛtá*); et VI.93,1 comme épithète de Yama.—Le groupe verbal *nīs* + *r-* indique une privation, une perte violente; mais le nom verbal afférent *nīrṛta* LI19,7 avoisine le sens de *nīrṛti* lorsqu'il est employé LI17,5 pour désigner Vandana "qui se désagrègeait" sous l'effet de la vieillesse et que les Aśvin durent réanimer (*sām* inv-) comme un char; au vers correspondant LI17,5 il est dit que Vandana "dormait au sein de la *nīrṛti*". Enfin l'absol. *nīrṛtṣya* AV. X.2,2 semble bien se référer aux dieux qui "irèrent (du chaos?)" des parties du corps humain, pour former l'Homme.



forme d'un démon, d'une entité malfaisante; l'un de ces noms, et celui qui pousse cette donnée à l'extrême, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à l'idée de "destruction, néantise", est *nīryti*.<sup>2</sup>

La plupart des passages du RV. où le mot est attesté (il s'agit partout, sauf une fois, du 10<sup>me</sup> mand.) sont peu instructifs, parce qu'il s'agit d'invocations assez banales, d'énumérations où n° est joint à *dmāti*, *ārāti*, *durhāyā*,<sup>3</sup> au nom des *rākṣas* et autres entités malfaisantes, dont la liste s'allonge dans l'AV., sans éclairer davantage la notion. L'une des rares épithètes est *durvidātra*, qui semble devoir signifier (en liaison avec son antonyme *suvidātra*) "celle dont l'abord est funeste". Le seul souhait d'apparence positive qu'on adresse à n° est de lui demander de s'éloigner : le préfixe *pārā* "au loin" revient comme un leitmotiv I.24, 9 VI. 74, 2 X. 59, 1-4; 95, 14; 164, 1; de même, *parās* X.164,1; ces mêmes et d'autres mots semblables, AV. passim.<sup>4</sup> On associera à ce groupe, en dépit des objections de Ge., le terme *pārāparā* I.38, 6, entendu comme un *āmreṣita* de *pārā*.<sup>5</sup> La notion de n° semble en plusieurs passages coïncider plus ou moins avec celle de *mṛtyū* "la mort", ou en être la représentation dynamisée. Les deux mots<sup>6</sup> sont situés

2. Un autre terme qui, sous une forme atténuée, semble également avoir désigné le désordre (sur le plan cosmique ou éthique) est *āryta*, le "non-ryā". Là où le terme s'oppose à *ryā*, ainsi I.152,1, il indique que Varuṇa et Mitra laissent derrière eux "tous les désordres" (*āryāni śīdā*) et "suivent la voie de l'ordre" (*ryāna... sacetha*); traduire par *Unrecht* ou *Unicaht* serait rétrécir et partant fausser tout le sens profond du poème. Des mêmes divinités il est dit I.139,2 qu'elles "extirpent de l'ordre le désordre". C'est le "désordre" qu'engendrent les Paṇi en gardant prisonnières les vaches—symboles de la lumière (II.21,6 et 7): cet acte trouble la marche régulière du cosmos. Mais le terme *āryta* s'est de bonne heure orienté vers la notion du "mal" pur et simple, et notamment du "mal" en parole, erreur ou mensonge. Nous n'entendons que restituer un point de départ plausible.

3. Encore une idée de "destruction", plutôt substantive—étant la base des dérivés *durhāyā* et *yānt*—qu'épithète de n°, ainsi que la pose Ge. ad I.38,9.

4. Les *parāvāt* ou "éloignements" (de temps en temps renforcés par *pāra* "lointains") de RV. et AV. (passim)—éventuellement précisés en "trois *parāvāt*" ou "sept p°" (AV. X.10,3) ou "99 cours d'eau" (AV. VIII.5,9) sont un équivalent indirect de n°: pour ne pas nommer ce "domaine" situé au loin, on l'évoque seulement par un mot désignant la distance. Ce n'est pas un hasard si p° est rapproché de *pāpālōkā* (au plur.) dans un passage d'AV. XII.5, 64 "les mondes mauvais, les éloignements" (où est destiné à aller le *brahmayā*, le violenteur du *brāhmaṇ* et du *brahmān*).

5. Cf. avec une valeur analogue le préverbe *āpa*, qui figure X. 76, 4 en accompagnement de l'impératif *hata* et se sous-entend avec *śakabhāyā* et *sēdhata* ibid. (cas de préverbe multivalent), d'où le sens insolite pris par *śakbh*—pour cet unique passage.

6. *Mṛtyū* est une entité neutre, je veux dire qu'elle est sentie comme une simple résultante des lois préétablies. Les hommes sont *mṛtyubāndhu*; la mort est leur propre, comme la non-mort (*amṛta*) est le lot des dieux. *Mṛtyū* et *amṛta* (avec cette disparité morphologique qu'on retrouve dans d'autres noms de couples contrastés) sont associés



près l'un de l'autre dans l'AV., ainsi X.3, 7 et XII.2, 3. Dans AV. III.6, 5 on invite la n°—sorte d'agent d'exécution de *mṛtyú*—"à lier ces (ennemis) avec les lacets inextricables de la mort", *sinātu enān nīrṛtir mṛtyóh pásair amokyañ*. La n° est invitée à mettre un licol (*abhidhānī*) à l'ennemi (AV. IV. 36, 10), tout comme on dit ailleurs que l'âge et la mort ont mis à l'homme un licol, "la bonne corde" de AV. III. 11, 8. Il est question dans le même texte "des lacets de la n°" (I.31, 2), de la "corde inextricable" que "la divine n°" a mise autour du cou du malade, VI.63, 1 et 2, de ce "carcan (*drupadā*) de fer", qui l'enserme de mille morts, *ibid.* 3; enfin des "liens mortels" (*nairṛtā*) de la maladie (*grāhi*) XIX.45, 5.

Déjà dans le RV., le pigeon (*kapóta*) annonciateur de la n° X.165, 1 était identique au messager de Yama-Mṛtyu, *ibid.* 4. Yamī invitant son frère à partager sa couche trouve cet argument "à quoi bon une soeur, quand la n° fera irruption!", c'est-à-dire, que vaut le titre le "soeur", quand il s'agit de sauver la race? Quand Purūravas menace de se donner la mort, il exprime le vœu de "se coucher dans le sein de la n°" X.95, 14.

Mais il ne faut pas se hâter de conclure que n° = *mṛtyú*, que n° est une sorte d'hypostase de la mort. Elle peut s'opposer à la "mort", dans ce passage où est énoncé le souhait, mis dans la bouche d'un homme dont on désire prolonger la vie, "puisse la n° avaler ma vieillesse!" *jarām cin me nīrṛtir jagrasīta* V. 41, 17 : loin de conduire à la mort, la n° l'entrave ici bien plutôt. Elle a pouvoir même sur les dieux, sur Indra par exemple VII. 37, 7, lequel toutefois sait échapper aux n° (pluriel !). Dans l'hymne funèbre X.18 (10) où le mort est invité à ramper "sous la terre mère, la vaste terre amicale", le poète ajoute "puisse-t-elle te préserver du séjour de la n°!": ce séjour (expression qu'on retrouve X.161, 2, également pour un malade) n'est donc pas identique à la mort. C'est celui où tombent les méchants, ceux dont la parole est une *drūh* VII. 104, 9 et 14 : la notion de *drūh*, tout analogue à celle d' *ánṛta*, indique elle aussi un "désordre" oral et entraîne volontiers la mention de lieux funestes. De ce domaine funeste, on ne nous dit rien de plus, sinon qu'il est à l'autre bout du *nāka* VII. 58, 1 (les chevauchées des

en maints passages du RV. et de l'AV., y compris (RV.) VII. 59, 12, que Pischel avait mis en doute et que l'ensemble des formules confirme. Incidemment, *mṛtyú* est appesé à *jīvatu* "vie", à *arispātāsi* "intégrité physique" X. 60, 8. Le *mṛtyú* est la destinée que Yama a préférée à celle des dieux (X. 13, 4), plutôt que la non-mort (seconde interprétation de Ge.).—Dans l'AV. l'image de la "mort" s'étoffe un peu davantage en empruntant aux emblèmes du dieu Yama les *mṛtyuñśā* VIII. 8, 10 et 16, les *mṛtyóh*.... *aghañ dātāñ* *ibid.* 10 (et 11), éventuellement *mṛtyór āgam* *ibid.* 18 "la brûlure de la mort"?—Les autres noms de la "mort" n'ont donné lieu qu'à des tentatives, sauf une, assez instables: *mṛtī*, *mṛta*, *mara*, \**māra*, *marana*.



Marut vont "de la n° jusqu'au firmament"), et nāka figure aussi au voisinage de n° AV. VI. 63, 3. On pourrait donc induire une localisation terrestre ou souterraine: de fait, l' AV. VI. 84, 1, décrivant une oblation destinée à "la bouche terrible" de la n°, ajoute que les gens du commun (jāna: ceux qui n'en jugent que par les apparences) croient (*abhiprāmanvate*; variantes *pramādate* ou *vidiḥ* dans le YV.) que la n°, c'est simplement "la terre": seul le poète sait, d'un savoir absolu, que cette divinité terrible est la nīryti.

L'idée dominante est donc bien celle d'une "force" ou d'un "séjour" se définissant par l'annihilation de l'être.<sup>7</sup> Mais, comme nous l'avons laissé entendre déjà, l'idée première nous paraît être celle d'une force ou d'un séjour interrompant les lois du *ṛtā*, le lieu du "désordre". Le mot est juxtaposé à *avanā* VII. 58, 1 qui désigne "(l'espace) sans poutres", analogue à l' *ākṛta yōni*, au "séjour non fait, non façonné" de L104, 7. L' "enfer" védique (puisque l'on en vient peu à peu à cette notion inéluctable, même si on s'exténue à l'éliminer), c'est d'abord le "désordre", ce qui rompt le cours régulier des choses et détruit l'harmonie.

Restent deux passages du RV.: (a) dans l'hy. à énigmes I.164 (32), il est question d'une entité qui, "caché(e) dans le sein de sa mère, a pénétré dans la n°", (tout) en ayant une nombreuse descendance": il doit s'agir, comme on l'a présumé, du "souffle" qui, revenu à son point d'origine, s'abolit en donnant naissance sans cesse à d'autres souffles (Ge.). La n° est ici une cessation (apparente) d'activité, une rupture du circuit (*ṛtā*) organique;

(b) dans X. 114, 2, on nous représente "trois n°" (ou: "les trois n°") qui assistent (au mystère rituel, en *rahasya*, que décrit l'hymne), "en vue de (donner un) avertissement ou une instruction" (*deṣṭṛāya*).<sup>8</sup> Quelles sont ces n°, ces divinités "instructrices", dont "les poètes (seuls) ont compris la connexion-ésotérique (le *nidāna*)", "elles qui sont (immanentes) dans les lois secrètes les plus hautes (régissant le cosmos)": s'agit-il simplement, comme le pense Ge., sur le plan météorologique, de la "cessation" du soleil, du feu, du vent; sur le plan rituel (joint au précédent?), de la "cessation" de l'hymne, de la mélodie, du souffle? Le rapprochement entre n° et *deṣṭṛā*

7. N° est à cet égard semblable à un autre mot du groupe AV. VS. 6B, *nāṣṭrā*; on l'a dans AV. VIII. 227 *yé mṛtyōva śkaśataṃ yā nāṣṭrā atitāryāḥ* "les cent et une morts, les destructions outre lesquelles on doit passer (si l'on veut continuer de vivre)".

8. Même expression dans l'hymne à Sūryā X. 85, 13, où les Aśvin jouent vis-à-vis de Sūryā le rôle de divinités "instructrices" (pour fixer sa place dans le char nuptial); en fin du même hy, figure aussi une *dēṣṭrī* de la jeune mariée, sorte de déesse présidant à la cérémonie, ou peut-être de Destin fémininement personnifié. C'est cette même *dēṣṭrī* qui est magnifiée dans l'AV, comme identique à la Virāj suprême ou à la Vāsā primordiale.

d'une part, et les entités suprêmes de l'AV. (dites *dēṣṭrā*) d'autre part, nous invite à viser beaucoup plus haut. Ces trois n° sont ces facteurs d'entropie (comme nous avons proposé de les dénommer), les forces de rupture du *ṛtā* sur les divers plans où se meut la spéculation *ṛgvédique*: espace céleste, aérien, terrestre, ou ("*adhyātmam*"). activités divine, rituelle, humaine. On peut imaginer d'autres affectations, mais la notion de n° doit bien être celle-là, une force dé-structurante, contre-partie équipollente des grandes entités positives de la pensée védique.

Ajoutons un mot encore. Comme nous l'avons vu, la n°, bien que ne désignant pas directement l' "enfer", devait y aboutir tôt ou tard. Elle y a abouti sous des formes subreptices: deux noms de l' "enfer" dans la littérature ultérieure, *niraya* et *naraka*, nous paraissent issus du vieux terme *nirṛti*. Le premier, *niraya*, est une simple accommodation, par substitution de la finale aisée *-aya-* à la forme malaisée *-ṛti-*. Le mot *naraka* est, à première vue, plus difficilement conciliable. Mais d'abord il faut tenir présent à l'esprit que la forme ancienne est *nāraka* (AV.; *nāraka* du *padap.* est une modernisation) ou *nāraká* (YV.); *naraka* n' apparaît que dans un texte védique tardif. Le passage en question de l'AV. est XII. 4, 36 "on appelle *nāraka* le monde de celui qui retient à son profit la (vache) qui lui a été demandée" *athāhur nārakam lokam nirundhānāsya yācitām. Nāraka* est, à mon sens, le dérivé à *vṛddhi* d'un ancien \**niraka* (éventuellement \**nirṛka*), qui se sera substitué à *nirṛti* tout comme *niraya* et pour les mêmes raisons. La *vṛddhi* en *-ā-* sur un thème primitif en *-i-* est un procédé archaïque, qu'on retrouve dans *kāveraká* (AV.), *śrāyasa* (YV.), *dārghasattra* (P.) et autres formes citées chez WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER *Al. Gr.* II. 2 p. 122 sq.



## THE CASTE DIALECT OF THE MUCIS IN SOUTH-EAST BURDWAN

BY

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I came to know very recently that the Mucis (professional tanners, shoemakers and drummers) of the south-eastern part of the district of Burdwan in West Bengal use a dialect of their own when speaking exclusively among themselves. This dialect consists of a complete set of vocables for ordinary objects and ideas, which are entirely different from the vocables used in the local patois or in the standard dialect of the region. I have not yet been able to ascertain the extent of this class or caste dialect, but there is no reason to believe that it is strictly confined to those villages from which the data used in this paper have been collected.<sup>1</sup>

The Mucis form the lowliest and most untouchable caste among the Hindus in West Bengal although as ceremonial drummers they have a definite place in all important religious ceremonies and ritualistic festivals. Being a totally excluded caste they could retain or develop a dialect of their own, which did not differ from the local dialect in grammar but mainly in vocabulary. By using their "code" words they could successfully hide or disguise their activities and behaviours which have been almost entirely different from that of the other people of the land. The dialect of the Mucis can very well be compared with the code languages (*sandhyā-bhāṣā* or *sandhā-vacana*) of the mystic *caryā* songs in Old Bengali.

The new political and social set up of the country is slowly but surely striking at the exclusion of the Mucis, and their dialect, I believe, is advancing on its way to extinction.

The vocables of the dialect presented here fall into three main categories: (i) archaic words lost in the standard and local dialects, at least in that particular sense; (ii) descriptive or onomatopoeic words that apparently originated in the dialect itself; and (iii) words of unknown origin and uncertain source. The numerals are shown as the fourth category.

### (i) Archaic vocables lost elsewhere:

*bhīṭ* 'field for cultivation'; cf. St.<sup>2</sup> *bhīṭā* 'homestead'.

*bisēl* 'sufficient, enough'; cf. *viśāla*.

1. I am indebted to Mr. Panchanan MANDAL and to Mr. Tārakdās MOHANTA for the collection of the material used in this paper.

2. St. = Standard Bengali (colloquial and literary).

- cannā 'foot'; < caranā, bero cannā 'shoe'; lit.<sup>3</sup> 'inferior foot'.  
 cārā, cerā 'to do, to make'; < car-, māṅrā cerā 'come here!' gher cerā  
 'to pass stools'. māṅrā masāi paltā cerān 'the master here gives  
 (or earns) money.' cārkhā 'go!' cārkhāi 'I have had a bath';  
 lutuige cārkhāo 'go to bed.'  
 chei 'cut off'; < chedaya.  
 cumṛi 'chin, beard'. cf. St. dāri comṛāno 'to stroke one's beard'.  
 desāo 'give!' < deśaya, deśāpaya. It is likely that desāo came from St.  
 de jāo through \*dezāo; cf. nesāo 'take away!' < \*nezāo < ne jāo.  
 ēderā 'night'; cf. Middle Bengali āndhiyāra, āndhiyārā.  
 gējāo 'beat (drum)! play on (instrument)!' < \*gañjāpaya, \*garjā-  
 paya, garjaya.  
 holāurcha 'talk, speech'; cf. Apabhraṃśa hakkāra, St. hākār 'shout'.  
 kar 'hand'; < kara.  
 kerāi 'rolling one's eyes'; cf. Middle Bengali kiṭā 'to chastise, to show  
 angry eyes.'  
 khārāo 'stand up!' cf. St. khārā 'straight up'.  
 khīṣche 'is eating, is biting'; cf. St. khēt 'a heavy meal' (pejorative).  
 khōp 'home, hut, house'; cf. St. khop 'narrow aperture, cubicle.'  
 luto 'sleeping'; < lupta (?). lutuige 'to sleep'.  
 nabru 'cow'; < navarūpa (?); cf. St. goru < gorūpa.  
 neptāi 'bed'; cf. St. neptā 'to cover up, to wear tightly'.  
 parak 'cloth'; cf. St. parā 'to wear clothes'.  
 pātāri 'betel leaf'; < patrākāra.  
 phalkāi, phalkāru 'fruit'; < phala +.  
 phalkāi 'testes'; < phala +  
 seṣo, sēto 'good, better, rich'; < śreṣṭha.  
 sibli 'water'; < śipāla, \*śiphāla, śaibala 'water plant'. sibli chei 'toddy',  
 lit. 'water from scraping (a palm)'.  
 soj 'to understand'; < śudhya- (present base of śudh).  
 ṭelpe 'to push away, to throw away'; cf. St. ṭhelā 'push'.  
 ṭerāi 'eye'; cf. St. ṭer 'awareness, perception'; ṭerā 'squint-eye'.  
 ṭhākur 'a Vaishnav'; cf. St. vaiṣṇav ṭhākur 'a Vaishnav guru'.

3. Lit. = Literally.



- thekā* 'to give'; St. *thekā* 'support, prop.' *thekāno* 'giving'.  
*thikeche* 'is dripping, is flowing'; lit. 'is giving away'.  
*thuṛo* 'old, aged'; cf. St. *thubrā* 'aged and infirm'. *thuṛo mus* 'old man';  
*thuṛo bhodo* 'old woman'.  
*tikle* 'on seeing, having seen'; cf. St. *tike tike thākā* 'to be on close watch'.

(ii) *Vocables evolving in the dialect itself:*

- bephās* 'pen, goal'; cf. St. *phās* 'noose'.  
*bhāluk* 'fever'; cf. St. *bhāluk jvar* 'ague of a bear'.  
*bhogol* 'dog'; onomatopoeic.  
*bhurki* 'hubble-bubble'; onomatopoeic. See *phuphuli*.  
*cārboṛe phufke* 'parched rice'; lit. 'exploding with a popping sound'.  
*cēckā* 'child'; lit. 'crying one'.  
*chān rui* 'fish'; lit. 'rohit fish caught in net'.  
*dātrop* 'sugarcane'; lit. 'teeth-chewed' (?)  
*dhakdhake* 'lantern'; lit. 'burning brightly'.  
*gambuṛ* 'head'; lit. 'dome'.  
*guṛfir pōd* 'onion'; lit. 'bottom of a tuft'.  
*jibtek* 'chilly, red pepper'; lit. 'pungent (?) to the tongue'.  
*khuṭṭāi* 'shoes'; lit. 'belonging to the upcountry'.  
*manpuri* 'god, deity'; lit. 'that fulfils desire' < *manah* + *pūra*.  
*memāru* 'goat'; onomatopoeic.  
*mulkdāi* 'mother'; lit. 'stem of a bunch'.  
*phāstiri* 'bird'; lit. '(target) of noose and arrow'.  
*phōpāsu* 'snake'; onomatopoeic.  
*phuphuli* 'hookah'; onomatopoeic. See *bhurki*.  
*pōdphal* 'duck'; lit. 'that gives fruit from the bottom'.  
*phokār* 'goldsmith'; onomatopoeic.  
*ṭupo* 'fermented drink, liquor'; lit. 'that drips'. *bāro ṭupo* 'drink from fermented rice'; lit. 'inferior drink'; *sēṭo ṭupo* 'distilled liquor'; lit. 'superior drink'.

(iii) *Vocables of indeterminate origin:*

- ābaṅg* 'cold, winter'; < *abhyaṅga*?  
*ādre* 'sweetmeat'.



*ārp̄hul* 'tooth'.

*āsor* 'pungent; scoundrel'.

*ol* 'courtyard'.

*baitan* 'cooked rice'.

*bīlu bāgdi* 'caste name'. Cf. *dhāku*.

*bāoyā* 'tobacco'. *sēfo bāoyā* 'cannabis indica'; lit. 'superior tobacco'.

*bāro, bero, boro* 'inferior, not good; low class man'. *bero cannā* 'shoes';

lit. 'inferior foot'. *bero tceblāi* 'pregnancy'; lit. 'inferior belly'.

*bero cenkāi* 'kerosene'; lit. 'inferior oil'. *bar(o)ṣupo* 'rice gruel

fermented'; lit. 'inferior liquor'.

*bātpā* 'hand'.

*bhiṭṭi* 'tools'.

*bhodo* 'young woman, bride, woman'. *thuro bhodo* 'old woman'.

*bhorel* 'wine seller'.

*cadu* 'man carrying a drum on back'.

*cæng* 'membre virile'.

*cenkāi* 'oil'. *sēfo cenkāi* 'mustard oil'; lit. 'superior oil'. *bero cenkāi* 'kerosene'; lit. 'inferior oil'. See *cikan*.

*chol* 'speech, talk'.

*cikan* 'sun, moon, oil'. *dhup cikan* 'sun's heat'.

*ciyāni* 'urine'.

*cuyārke* 'pubic hair'.

*ḍaṅko* 'pūtikā plant'.

*ḍāṭke* 'rice'.

*dhēdel* 'bridegroom'.

*dhimi* 'Muci (caste name)'.

*ḍolā* 'to speak'.

*ḍumo* 'any musical instrument'.

*gajālu* 'puḍendum muliebre'.

*gher* 'excreta'.

*gheri* 'Hāri (caste name)'; lit. 'sweeper'; cf. *gher*.

*ghespi* 'hair on the body'.

*guṭke* 'woman's breasts'.

*hēkce* 'sexual act'.

*jhāgli* 'Hindu'.

*jhāpti* 'Mussalman'.

*jhopāl* 'mad man'.

*jhupcero* 'rain-cover made of palm-leaf'.

*kaṅgsār* 'witty man'.

*kānsi* 'woman of higher caste'. *sēto kānsi* 'lady'. *kānsi sēto* 'good-looking woman'.

*khālip* 'arrival of a dead cow in carrion ground'.

*kham* 'mouth; wife'.

*khine* 'rupee'.

*kōdār* 'nighifall'. *kōdār hāsi* 'sunset'; lit. 'smile of nightfall'.

*-kui*: *ghāskui* 'paddy straw', *tīṣkui* 'paddy; paddy-selling caste (Till)'.

*labsā* 'milkman'.

*mābāṣā* 'to bow down'.

*mākṛā* 'men'.

*name* 'banana'.

*māṅrā* 'here'.

*maru* 'Brahman (caste name)'.

*moje* 'Āguri (caste name)'.

*pakā* 'to start playing a tune'.

*paltā* 'money'.

*saggo* 'lady's finger (vegetable)'.

*siuli* 'go! come!'

*sulum* 'salt'.

*ṭablāi* 'belly, stomach'. *bero ṭablāi* 'pregnancy'.

*ṭhankāru* 'fuel'.

*tiki* 'to move (something)'.

(iv) Numerals:

*sikṭe* 'one'; < St. *siki* 'four anna bit' (?)

*joṛṭā* 'two'; < St. *joṛā* 'couple'.

*neo* 'three'.

*gonḍā* 'four'; St. *gaṇḍā*.

*ad cāpar* 'five'; lit. 'half a slap'.

*cāpar* 'ten'; lit. 'slap (of two hands ?)'.



## VĀNTAM APĀTUM

BY

L. ALSDORF, *Hamburg*

The 22nd chapter of the Uttarajjhāyā, the first Mūlasūtra of the Jain Canon, tells the well-known story of Ariṭṭhaṇemi, the 22nd tīrthakara. Its title, however, is not, as we should expect, Ariṭṭhaṇemicariya but Rahaṇemiḥḥam, which is derived from the episode filling the last third (vv. 32-49) of the chapter. Ariṭṭhaṇemi's former bride Rāyamaī, who after his pravrajyā has followed his example and entered the order, is caught by a heavy rain on her way to Mt. Raivataka; seeking shelter in a cave, she takes off her wet clothes. Ariṭṭhaṇemi's brother Rahaṇemi, who has also turned monk, happens to enter the same cave, and on seeing her nude covets her and proposes to her to "enjoy pleasures" together and afterwards to return to "the path of the Jinas." The frightened girl musters her courage and in a spirited reply convinces him of his folly so that "he returned to the Law like an elephant driven by the hook" (v. 46).

The ancient fame of this episode is attested by the fact that of the five stanzas spoken by Rāyamaī (41-45) three (42-44), plus the concluding statement v. 46, have been incorporated into the 2nd chapter of the Dasaveyāliya-sutta (= Das. 2, 7-10). The first two of these stanzas run as follows:

*dhīr-atthu te, jaso-kāmi, jo taṃ jīviya-kaṇṇā  
vantaṃ icchasi āvēṇṇi! seyaṃ te maraṇaṃ bhava ! 42/7  
ahaṃ ca Bhoga-rāyassa, taṃ c'asi Andhagavaṇḥiṇo —  
mā kule gandhaṇḍa homo ! saṇḍamaṇḍa nihuo cara. 43/8*

I add JACOB's translation (SBE XLV, p. 118): "Fie upon you, famous knight,<sup>1</sup> who want to quaff the vomited drink for the sake of this life; it

1. No doubt this is the only correct translation. LEUMANN has misunderstood the expression *jaso-kāmi*; he translates (ZDMG 46, p. 597): "Weh Dir in Deinem Ruhmverlangen" ("Woe be to you with your desire of glory"); SCHUMANN's translation (in his edition and translation of Das., Ahmedabad 1932) "Fie upon you who are greedy of glory!" amounts to the same. Yet Rahaṇemi's coveting of Rāyamaī and consequent intention to break his vows can hardly be ascribed to a desire of glory. I have no doubt that the Daśa-Cūṛi is quite right in explaining: "*jaso-kāmiṇo khattiyā bhavaṇṇaṃ*" (Haribhadra says: "he *yasa-kāmiṇo* itī *sāṇḍiṇaṃ kṣatriya-mantroṇaṃ*"); Rāyamaī merely reminds the monk that he is a kṣatriya, which is exactly in keeping with the following

would be better for you to die. I am the daughter of the Bhoga-king, and you are an Andhakavṛṣṇi; being born in a noble family, let us not become like Gandhana-snakes; firmly practise self-control!"

Obviously in order to explain the cryptic phrase *mā kule gandhanā homo* used in v. 43/8, the Das. has its quotation from Utt. preceded by the following stanza (Das. 2, 6):

*pakkhande jaliyaṃ joṃṃ dhūma-kevaṃ durāsayaṃ  
necchānti vantaṃ bhottāṃ kule jāyā agandhane,*

which SCHUMANN translates: "Serpents that are born in a noble family would rather rush into a deadly fire that blazes and smokes than consent to swallow [the poison] they have sent forth."

This translation, as well as JACOBI's translation of Utt. 22, 43, is based on the explanation of the commentaries who describe a curious belief, further illustrated by a story reproduced by LEUMANN ZDMG 46, p. 604, that a snake-charmer can force a snake to return to the victim it has bitten and give it the choice to suck back (*āpātum*) from the wound the poison emitted (*vānta*) by it or to rush into a fire kindled for the purpose; there are two kinds of snakes: the *gandhana* will choose the former, the *agandhana* the latter alternative.

A close parallel to the phrase *kule jāyā agandhane* of Das. 2, 6 is found in *Isibhāsiyāṃ* 45, 40. V. 38 warns against abandoning the teaching of the Jina after having followed it:

*telokka-sāra-garayaṃ dhīmato bhāsitaṃ imaṃ  
sammam kāḇa phāsettā puṇa na virame tato,*

"Having carried out<sup>2</sup> to the full this teaching of the wise (Jina) one must not abandon it again." This exhortation is then stressed by three similes (vv. 39-41):

stanza where she appeals to him to remember his and her royal descent. That, however, *jaso-kāṃī* following after *dhīr-atthū* should be an address implying no blame seemed improbable even to the ancient commentators, as is shown by the alternative (and doubtless erroneous) interpretation offered by the Cūṛi: "*ahavā dhīr-atthū te ayaso-kāṃī, gantha-lāphaṇ'atthāṃ akāraṇa lovaṃ kāṇa evaṃ paḥijjā: dhīr-atthū te 'jaso-kāṃī'*" (Haribhadra: "*athavā akāra-praḥḥjāḥ ayasakāṃin*").

2. SCHUMANN, in his edition, understands *kāḇa phāsettā* as "taking in by the ear" and in his *chāyā* explains *kāḇa* by *śrotreṇa*. I see no difficulty in taking the phrase in the more literal sense of "having performed with one's body the rules laid down by the Jina."



<i>baddha-cindho jadhā jodho vammārūḍho thirāyudho</i>	
<i>sīha-nāyaṃ vimuncittā palāyanto na sobhati</i>	39
<i>agandhane kule jāto jadhā nāgo mahā-viso</i>	
<i>muncittā sa-visaṃ bhūyo piyanto jāti lāghavaṃ</i>	40
<i>jadhā ruppi-kul'ubbhūto ramaññaṃ pi bhoyayaṃ</i>	
<i>vantaṃ piṇḍo sa bhunjanto dhid-dhi-kārassa bhāyaṇaṃ</i>	41

"As a warrior with his banner hoisted, clad in his coat of mail, with solid weapons, who utters a lion's roar and then flees, disgraces himself; as a very poisonous snake born in an *agandhana* family which emits its poison and then drinks it again becomes of no account; as one born from a *ruppi*<sup>3</sup> family when eating food, lovely though it may be, which he has vomited, becomes the object of contempt . . . ."

SCHUBRING blames the author for having confounded *agandhana* and *gandhana*; but *agandhana* is quite correct and in keeping with the two other similes: a snake which is really *agandhana* by birth disgraces itself by behaving like, and thus actually becoming, a *gandhana* one.

The strange expression *gandhana* in connection with *kula*, i.e., good family, occurs also in Pali. A stanza of the Itivuttaka (PTS ed. p. 64) reads as follows:

*atijātaṃ anujātaṃ puttam icchanti paṇḍitā,  
avaajātaṃ na icchanti yo hoti kula-gandhana,*

"Wise men desire a son of higher birth or equal birth; they do not desire one of lower birth who is a *kula-gandhana*."

The introductory prose of the Itivuttaka offers the pious but hardly original explanation that an *atijāta* is the devout Buddhist son of non-Buddhist parents, the *anujāta* the Buddhist son of Buddhist parents, and the *avaajāta* the non-Buddhist son of Buddhist parents; it has, unfortunately, nothing to say on *kula-gandhana*. For the latter the MSS. have a variety of readings and explanations (*kusejantuno*, *kulagandhano ti kulacchedako*, *kula-dhamsano*) merely testifying to the fact that *kula-gandhana* was unfamiliar and probably obsolete; but it is of course inadmissible (as suggested by the PTS Pali Dictionary s.v. *kula*) simply to remove the inconvenient word by "correcting" it to *kulagandhaka*—the more so as the almost identical expression

3. *ruppi* (= *rukmiṇi*) certainly seems hardly to make sense but Schubring's emendation *sappa* seems to me impossible: as shown by the *ramaññaṃ pi bhoyayaṃ*, the stanza has no longer to do with the snake of the preceding one but introduces an entirely new and different simile.

*kule antima-gandhina* occurs in gāthā 7 of the Kaṇhadīpāyanajātaka (Jāt. vol. IV p. 34) :

*pitaro ca me āsu pitāmahā ca  
saddhā, ahū dānapatī vadaññū;  
taṃ kullavattaṃ anuvattamāno  
"māhaṃ kule antima-gandhino [a]huṃ"  
etassa vādassa jigucchamāno  
akāmakō dānam imaṃ dadāmi,*

"My parents and grandparents were faithful, they were liberal and bountiful; following this family custom—"may I not be the worst *gandhina* in the family", shunning such talk I practise this liberality without liking it."<sup>4</sup>

In none of the Pali passages is there any mention nor even the faintest suggestion of snakes; and but for the commentaries and *Isibhāṣ.* 45, 40 we should certainly never suspect that snakes were spoken of or alluded to in Utt. and Das. either. Further, in spite of the obvious kinship of all Pali and Pkt. passages quoted, there are important differences. The *Itivuttaka* speaks of a *kula-gandhana*, where *-gandhana* can only mean something like "destroying, spoiling, disgracing"; it seems difficult to separate the word from *gandha* "smell", and the explanation "one who brings the family into bad odour, who makes the family stink" might not be altogether unacceptable. In Das. 2, 6 and *Isibh.*, on the other hand, *agandhana* is an adjective qualify-

4. The fem. *antimagandhinī* occurs in the parallel gāthā 9, where the wife answers her husband's question why in spite of her avowed hatred she has faithfully remained with him :

*ānā dāre na idha kadāci atthi  
paramparā nāma kule imasmim;  
taṃ kullavattaṃ anuvattamānā  
"māhaṃ kule antimagandhinī [ā]huṃ"  
etassa vādassa jigucchamānā  
akāmakā baddhā carāmi tuyhaṃ.*

*paramparā* is explained by the commentary as *puries-paramparā*, "a series of husbands", i.e. there has never been a woman with more than one husband. KERN (Toev. s. v.) interpreted it as "defamation, ravishing", which hardly suits the context. I take it to stand for *para-parā*, "a woman intent on, devoted to, another (man but the husband)"; accepting for *baddha* KERN's reading *padāha*, I translate: "From olden times there has never on earth been in this family a woman devoted to another man but her husband; following this family custom—"may I not be the worst *gandhinī* in the family", shunning such talk I serve you faithfully, though I do not like it." —*kule antimagandhino* is explained in TAMMISAKK's Critical Pali Dictionary as "a blending of *kula-gandhana* and *kul'antima*", which is probably right. The Jātaka commentary is not very helpful: it explains g. 7: *ahaṃ attano kule sabba-pacchimako e'eva kula-pālpo ca mā assaṇ ti sallakkhetvā etaṃ kulantimo kula-pālpo ti vādaṃ jigucchamāno* . . . . ., and g. 9: *attano kule pacchimako pālpopabhūta mā assaṇ ti sallakkhetvā etaṃ kulantimā kula-gandhinīti vādaṃ jigucchamānā* . . . . .; for the doubtful *kulapālpo* cf. PTS Diet. s. vv. *pālpo* and *pālāsa*.



ing the *kula* itself, not him who disgraces it; and in the strikingly parallel passages of Utt. and Kāṇhadipāyanajāt. we have the locative *kule* as in Das. 2, 6, and Isibh., but with a nominat. *gandhanā*, *antimagandhino*, °*dhini* similar to the -*gandhano* of Itiv. Actually, the two passages Das. 2, 6 and Isibh. 45, 40 are difficult to reconcile with the rest, and if in them *kula* is not to mean "family, noble birth" at all but to denote two very strange species of snakes, this looks hardly original and genuine. The explanation of (a) *gandhana* remains doubtful, and I confess my inability to explain how this term came to be connected by the Jains with snakes and snake-charming;<sup>5</sup> but on the strength of the Pali parallels I am firmly convinced that in Utt. 22,42 Rāyamaī does not compare herself and Rahanemi to snakes of any kind. As to Das. 2,6, we shall see in the course of this investigation that this stanza, too, may at least originally have nothing to do with snakes but may have a very different and perfectly simple meaning.

The tale—it might be called a ballad—of Ariṭṭhanemi, Rāyamaī and Rahanemi is told in Utt. 22 very concisely, but coherently and complete, not necessitating reference to a fuller prose tale—with one exception. Rahanemi appears in the cave without even his name having been previously mentioned; we are not told who he is, let alone when and how he came to renounce the world. This lacuna is, of course, filled by the commentaries,<sup>6</sup> and they tell the famous though unsavoury story of Rahanemi's previous wooing of Rāyamaī, when the latter, before her and his pravrajyā, in order to deter and convert him drinks a sweet beverage, vomits it with the help of an emetic into a gold cup and offers it to him; on his refusal to drink her vomit she explains that he is doing virtually the same in making love to her who has been "vomited" by Ariṭṭhanemi.

It has so far been taken for granted that this story is old and genuine and that Utt. 22, 42 is an allusion to it. CHARPENTIER (ZDMG 64, p. 423) indeed remarks that it is virtually ("eigentlich") not found in the mūla of Utt., but explains his "eigentlich" by adding that v. 42 (*vantam icchasi*

5. Does *gandhana* represent the snake as sniffing when it sucks back its poison? Its bite is called a sniff-kiss Pancatantra 3. 81: *spṛṣṇaṁ api gajo hanti, jighṛṇaṁ api bhu-jangamaḥ / haṣaṇaṁ api nrpo hanti, mānayaṇaṁ api darjanah.*

6. Another, and far less serious, lacuna—we should probably not feel it as such at all—was filled by the insertion of the three stanzas 21-23; they give details of Ariṭṭhanemi's pravrajyā no doubt considered theologically or otherwise important (participation of the gods in the celebration of the Great Event, location of the latter on Mt. Rāvataka, date, etc.), but they most awkwardly interrupt the obvious connexion between v. 20 where Ariṭṭhanemi puts off his ornaments and hands them to his charioteer, and v. 24 where he plucks out his hair. That they are a later interpolation is further rendered absolutely certain by their being the only āryās in a chapter composed entirely in ślokas. This interpolation seems to have gone unnoticed so far.



अवेण्ण) would be absolutely unintelligible if we could not believe that the story was known also to the author of Utt.; later, in the commentary to his critical edition of Utt. (p. 360), he repeats that "the story is well known also to the author of the sūtra, which is to be seen from v. 42 infra." But is this really so?

That a girl scorned by a man, particularly a monk, can indeed call herself "vomited" by him is shown by Utt. 12, 21, where the princess Bhaddā says of the monk to whom her father had tried in vain to marry her:

*narinda-dēvind 'abhiwandieṇaṃ jeṇ 'amhi vantaṃ isidā, sa eso,*

"The monk, adored by princes and gods, by whom I have been vomited, that is he!"

But *vam* can, of course, have the more general meaning "to abandon", and in Jain and Buddhist scriptures it is particularly used with reference to the worldly belongings, the sensual pleasures and worldly desires one leaves behind and renounces when entering the order. In Utt. 14, 38 a king is called by his queen *vantāsī* "eater of vomit" because he has confiscated the property left behind by his purohita who has entered the order together with his wife and children:

*vantāsī puriso, rāyaṃ, na so hoī pasamsio,  
māhaṇeṇa pariccattaṃ dhaṇaṃ ādāva icchasi,*

"A man who eats vomit, O king, he is not to be praised; you want to confiscate the property abandoned by the brahmin." In the parallel Pali story, the Hatthipāla-jātaka (509), the corresponding stanza (18) reads:

*avamī brāhmaṇo kāme, te tvaṃ paccāvamissasi;  
vantādo puriso, rāja, na so hoti pasamsiyo,*

"The brahmin has vomited the (objects of) sensual enjoyment; these you are going to eat again (*praty-ā-vam!*)"; the second line is identical with the first line of Utt. 14, 38 except for the use of the synonym *vantādo* instead of *vantāsī*.<sup>7</sup>

7. With *avamī brāhmaṇo kāme* may be compared Sūyagada I, 6, 26: *kohaṃ ca mānaṃ ca taheva māyaṃ lobhaṃ cauttama ajjhata-dosa / eyāmi vantaṃ arahaṃ mahesi na karuṇā pāva na kāraṇi*, "Anger and pride and delusion, greed as the fourth, having abandoned ("vomited") these inner faults the arhat, the great monk, does not commit sin nor cause it to be committed." Dhammapada 97 *hatthakāso vantaṃ so so ve uttama-puriso* is translated by Mrs. Riva Davis: "with opening crushed, with longing spewed, he is indeed the man supreme." The PTS Dictionary renders *vantāso* by "one who has given up all wishes." Cf. further Dhammap. 10 *vantakāso* "one who has left behind all fault"; Dh. 261 *vanta-mala* "stainless"; Dh. 378 *vanta-lokaṃsa* "renouncing worldly profit." The contemptuous designation of the crow as *vantāso* may be rendered by "refuse-eater."



The preceding stanza of the Jātaka (g. 17), also spoken by the queen but not found in Utt., runs:

*ete bhutvā vomitvā ca pakkamanti vihaṅgamā,  
ye ca bhutvā na vomimsu, te me hatthattham āgatā,*

"These birds who have vomited after eating fly away; but those who after eating did not vomit have come into my captivity." To explain this, the prose commentary tells a complicated story: in order to convince her husband that it was wrong to confiscate the brahmin's property, the queen had caused a heap of meat to be placed in the courtyard and to be covered with a net leaving only a small opening straight above the meat. Vultures were attracted and came to eat of the meat. The more intelligent ones, when having their fill, realized that they were too heavy to gain the opening and therefore vomited so that they became light enough to escape; the stupid ones swallowed the vomit of the clever ones, could not fly straight up through the opening and were thus caught.

Some outlines of this story may be genuine; the details are hardly to be trusted, and the point of the story is certainly distorted. In the gāthā there is nothing whatever to suggest a re-eating of the vomit; the meaning of the simile can only be: he who after having enjoyed sensual pleasures gives them up ("vomits them") attains salvation; he who does not do so "is caught" in the saṃsāra. The purport of the stanza, therefore, is not to warn the king against confiscating the brahmin's property but to induce him to renounce the world, which he actually does immediately after the next stanza (18, see above), thanking the queen in the following gāthā (19) for having saved him through her well-spoken gāthās. Clearly, therefore, the order of vv. 17 and 18 must be inverted: the queen first dissuades the king to "eat the brahmin's vomit" and afterwards contrives the simile which induces him to enter the order. And that simile furnishes another instance of the use of *vam* in the meaning "to renounce (the world)".

The closest parallel to Utt. 22,42, however, is found in Utt. 10,29, where a wavering monk is exhorted not to re-enter worldly life in these words:

*ciccāṇa dhanam ca bhāriyaṃ / pavvaṇa hi si anagāriyaṃ<sup>8</sup>  
mā vantaṃ puṇo vi āvā.* . . . . .

"Having abandoned property and wife, you have entered the state of the houseless; do not drink again your vomit!"

If we read Utt. 22, 42 in the light particularly of this last passage, and without any preconceived ideas, there cannot be the slightest doubt that

8. The metre suggests a correction into *anagāriyaṃ* (= \**anagāriyam*, not *anagāri-*  
*ṣm*).



Rāyamaī's words "vantaṃ icchasi āveuṃ, seyaṃ te maraṇaṃ bhava" are nothing but a perfectly clear and intelligible warning against Rahaṇemi's breaking his vows and thus re-entering worldly life; and Das. 2, 6 may have nothing to do with snakes but merely assert that a monk of good breeding who does not want to be a disgrace to his family will rather leap into a blazing fire than give up his monkhood and re-enter the world. In the two stanzas Isibh. 45, 40 f. quoted above, too, the drinking or eating of (one's own!) vomit is a simile for the defection from monkish discipline and relapse into worldly life. Thus, in Utt. 22, 42 there is not only no allusion to the story of the vomited beverage offered to Rahaṇemi—we may even say that if Rāyamaī had intended to remind Rahaṇemi of that drastic scene she would certainly have chosen some more explicit mode of expression.

While Haribhadra in his Ṭikā on Das. 6, 7 explains vantaṃ icchasi āveuṃ by "vāntam icchasy āpātum, parityaktām bhagavatā abhilaṣasi bhoktum", Devendra, in his Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā, contents himself with the Sanskrit translation vāntam icchasi āpātum, but quotes the following āryā:

vijñāya vastu nindyaṃ tyaktvā grhṇanti kiṃ kvacit puruṣāḥ?  
vāntaṃ punar api bhuṅkte na ca sarvaḥ srameṇa 'pi,

which is clearly incompatible with Haribhadra's explanation as it speaks of re-eating one's own vomit and not, as in the alleged case of Rahaṇemi and Rāyamaī, somebody else's (i.e., Aritthanemi's). Moreover, the younger Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā of Kamalasaṃyama not only omits the story of the vomited drink altogether but gives the following perfectly correct interpretation of Utt. 22, 42. "vāntam udgīṣṇam āpātum icchasi, yathā hi kaścid vāntam āpātum icchaty evaṃ bhavān api pravrajyāgrahaṇatas tyaktān bhogān punar āpātum upabhoktum iti", after which it quotes the same āryā as Devendra.

It is, of course, not inconceivable that after having been drastically repulsed by Rāyamaī and thus caused to enter the order the monk Rahaṇemi should at their later chance meeting in the cave suffer a relapse and renew his attempt to win her. This, however, implies that Rāyamaī does not, as related Utt. 22, 28-30, renounce the world immediately after her bridegroom and under the fresh impression of his pravrajyā and her consequent desertion (which is the only natural course), but that there is, as in Devendra's story, an interval between her wailing over her desertion and her entering the order, an interval allowing for Rahaṇemi to woo her and be repulsed. I have no doubt that in reality the story of the commentators is a secondary invention due to the necessity to fill the gap in the tale of Utt. 22 noticed above and inspired by a mistaken interpretation of Utt. 22, 42—an interpretation stupidly taking literally what is nowhere anything but a figurative expression: vāntam āpātum, "to drink again (one's) vomit."



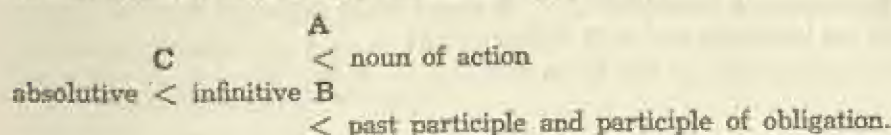
# NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE INFINITIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

BY

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The major work on this subject, as on so many other problems of Indian philology, has been done by Professor S. K. CHATTERJI in his monumental *"Origin and Development of the Bengali Language"*. This article is an attempt to elucidate some minor details.

As pointed out by A. MEILLET,<sup>1</sup> no precise general definition of any part of speech is possible, and the infinitive is particularly varied. It is closely allied to the nouns of action on the one hand, and to the gerund or absolutive on the other, and in some ways also to the past and future participles. The history of the infinitive is therefore complicated by constant intermingling and borrowing from these allied parts of speech. The gerund and infinitive in particular are often interchangeable. The basic distinction between the infinitive and the noun of action is generally held to be two-fold: (1) syntactically the noun of action has a nominal, the infinitive a verbal function; (2) morphologically the noun of action is a normal noun with a full declension while the infinitive is more closely linked with the verbal system and does not decline. The development of these parts of speech on the whole is according to the following pattern:—



The changes are normally in this direction, but in times of transition when there is hesitation between the usages, the reverse is also found.

In Vedic the distinction between the verbal noun and the infinitive is particularly slight,<sup>2</sup> and the infinitive is an old case of the verbal noun ending in *-am*, *-tum*, *-e*, *-ase*, *-taye*, *-tave*, *-tavai*, *-dhyai*, *-mane*, *-vane*, *-as*, *-tos*, etc. In classical Sanskrit as is well known only the old accusative infinitive in *-tum* has survived.

1. A. MEILLET, "Sur la Terminologie de la Morphologie Générale", *Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale*, Paris 1938, p. 29.

2. T. BURNOW, *The Sanskrit Language*, London 1954, p. 364.

In the Prakrits the forms are again more varied. The most usual ending of the infinitive in Ardha-Māgadhī is *-ttae*. There has been some argument as to the origin of this form. A. WEBER<sup>3</sup> derives it from the Vedic absolutes in *-tvāya*, E. MÜLLER<sup>4</sup> from the Vedic infinitives in *-tave*, and he is followed in this by G. V. TAGARE<sup>5</sup>. R. FISCHER<sup>6</sup> suggests that it was derived from the Vedic infinitives in *-tavai*, which are doubly accented and might therefore have a curious consonantal development. S. SEN<sup>7</sup> agrees partially with WEBER and suggests Vedic *\*-tvāyai*.

The infinitive in *-ttae* cannot be separated from that in *-yae* which is formed by some verbs ending in a long *-ā* in Ardha-Māgadhī. The endings *-ttae* and *-yae* seem to have been kept clearly distinct from the absolutes in *-āya*, *-āe*, and this in itself is sufficient to discredit the theory of Weber. Thus Ardha-Māgadhī has the absolutes *saṃāyāe*, *saṃkhāe*, *saṃuṭṭhāe* (Āyāraṅgasutta); and *āyāe* still occurs in the popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the Vasudevahinḍī. The infinitive however always has a short *-a-* in the ending and we find for instance in the Nāyadhammakahāo 28: *ṇa kappai. bhottae vā pāyae vā* = "it is not meet to eat or drink." The dative of the noun of action in *-āna* was kept apart in a similar way<sup>8</sup>; the infinitive has a short *-a-* while the dative of the noun of action ends in *-āe*, as in the frequent formula: *paḥārettha gamaṇāe* (e.g. Bhagavatisūtra XV 43) = "he set out to go". The brevity of the vowel in Ardha-Māgadhī proves that the infinitive in *-ttae* is a fixed survival and is to be separated in derivation from the normal dative of nouns and the absolute.

An infinitive in *-tave* exists in Pali and in the Aśokan inscriptions where it is widespread except in the North-West, e.g. Girnār *chamitave*, Dhauri and Jaugaḍa *khamitave* etc. It seems most probable that the theory of E. MÜLLER is correct and that the infinitives in *-ttae* of Ardha-Māgadhī are the direct continuation of the Vedic infinitive in *-tave*. There is no real need

3. A. WEBER, *Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati*, Berlin 1866-7.

4. E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛt*, Berlin 1876, p. 61.

5. G. V. TAGARE, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, Poona 1948, paragraph 150.

6. R. FISCHER, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Straßburg 1900, paragraph, 578.

7. S. SEN, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Indian Linguistics, Vol. XII, 1951, p. 126.

8. This is only contradicted by the N. W. Aśokan inscriptions where we find an infinitive in *-ae* which a short *-a*—e.g., *kṣamaṇaye* (Shāhbazgarhi inscription XIII). This type of infinitive was continued later in Nya Prakrit. It represents the shortened form of the dative of the noun of action (change A), but the original length of the vowel is proved by the endings in *-āya* found in Pali and in the Dhauri and Jaugaḍa Aśokan inscriptions, which have *evuḍḍāya*. The Girnār inscription has *astānāya*. The shortening of the vowel of this dative infinitive ending is therefore only characteristic of the NW in this early period.



to postulate with PISCHEL a derivation from *-tavai*, which has little support, particularly as Professor EDGERTON<sup>9</sup> has recently explained the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit infinitive in *-tavai* not as a derivative of Vedic *-tavai*, but as a hypersanskritism for *-tave*. The doubling of the *-t-* can however scarcely be due to a simple phonetic evolution; it is probably due to the influence of the absolutive where *-tv-* > *-tt-* in Ardha-Māgadhī: *-tvā*, *-tvānam* > *-ttā*, *-ttānam*. This doubling of *-t-* is exactly parallel to what is found in *-ttu*, *-ttu* (a development from *-tum*, cf. PISCHEL, *op. cit.* paragraph 576), which was used as an absolutive in Ardha-Māgadhī (change C). The tendency for doubling the *-t-* was further increased by the development of some consonantal roots where the doubling was phonetic, e.g. \**bhoktave* > *bhot-tae*. The loss of the *-v-* in the derivation of *-ttae* from *-tave* presents no real difficulty. An intervocalic *-v-* is quite often dropped in Ardha-Māgadhī e.g. *jīva* > *jīa*, *āsrava* > *āṣhaya*, *pravṛtta* > *payatta* etc. The weakness of the pronunciation of *-v-* intervocalic is further attested by the confusion between *-k-*, *-g-* > *-y-* and *-v-* intervocalic in a number of words in the Jain canon,<sup>10</sup> and this feature is continued later by Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī, e.g. in the *Līlavaikahā*, and by Apabhraṃśa. The loss of the *-v-* is thus not unusual and owing to the phonetic weakness of terminational elements<sup>11</sup> it became the rule in the ending *-tave* of the infinitive in Ardha-Māgadhī.

The Sanskrit infinitive in *-tum* > *-um*, *-ium*, is occasionally found in the Ardha-Māgadhī of the canon, although it is by no means as frequent as the infinitive in *-ttae*. It seems to be favoured only in some fixed locutions as for instance with *payatta*. This is illustrated by examples taken from a few paragraphs of the *Nāyadhammakahā* :

77. *tam icchāmo . parivasium.*
78. *citteum payattā.*
87. *anupariyaṭṭeum payattā.*
90. *uvasaggeum payattā.*
90. *na jujjasi . . ujjhiūm.*
99. *tam seyaṃ . . khaṇāvettae.*
99. *icchāmi . . khaṇāvettae.*
99. *khaṇāveum payatte yāvi hotthā.*
130. *uttarium payatte . . hotthā.*

9. F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Grammar*, New Haven 1953, paragraph 36/14.

10. R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, paragraph 231.

11. R. L. TURNER, *The phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan*, JRAS 1927.



In some cases where the infinitive in *-tum* is used in preference to that in *-ttac* it could very easily be replaced by an ordinary noun e.g. *Nāyadhammakahāo* 25: *dalayanti pakāmaṃ dāṃ pakāmaṃ bhottuṃ pakāmaṃ paribhūeṃ*, = "they give him as much as he likes to give away, to eat, to drink and to distribute." The only other case in which the infinitive in *-tum* is favoured is in composition, in fixed locutions inherited from Sanskrit, e.g. *Nāyadhammakahāo* 141: *ghāukāma, pākāma*. Apart from these locutions the infinitive in *-tum* is not very much alive in Ardha-Māgadhi, even if one includes cases where it has taken on an absolutival meaning (change C). It becomes slightly more prominent in the later canonical texts and in Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī*. Here the infinitive in *-tum* sometimes appears strengthened by the addition of the enclitic particle *-je*, hence the forms *giṇhūm-je* and *giṇheum-je* etc. found in the *Pañhāvāgarapaṇṇāṃ*<sup>12</sup> and in popular texts like the *Mahānisihasutta*<sup>13</sup> and the *Māhārāṣṭrī Dhūrtākhyāna*.<sup>14</sup> Dr. SEN<sup>15</sup> writes: "The accusative infinitive in *-tum* was at best a dialectal feature in M.I.A.". It belonged however to the Midland dialect, *Māhārāṣṭrī*, and owing to the great literary importance of the Midland it spread and it has become the normal form of the infinitive in dramatic Māgadhi. It is also the usual form in Sauraseni, where it was almost certainly indigenous, and in Jain Sauraseni. It still occurs in Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa, where it is not only confined to passages under Prakrit influence. It is frequent in *Samatsumāracarita*, generally with the loss of final *-m*, e.g. *kahiū, tasiū, lihiū*, etc., and the *Kumārāpālpratibodha*<sup>16</sup> has *jampiū, hariū, laddhu* and *kahiūm-pi*, which are the only infinitives in that text apart from one example of an absolutive used as an infinitive.

There is no evidence of the infinitive having survived any later in this form. *Kramadīśvara* allows an infinitive in *-aūm*, which is not mentioned by any other grammarian. The most usual form of the infinitive in Digambara Apabhraṃśa however is that in *-ahū*. It is the most frequent type of infinitive in the works of Puṣpadanta and in the *Karakandacariu* of Kanakāmara. It occurs for the first time in the *Paramātmaprakāśa* of the Digambara Joindu possibly of the sixth century A.D. It has probably survived into modern Marathi,<sup>17</sup> in the infinitive in *-ū*. The infinitive in *-ahū* is very rare indeed in

12. S. SEN, *A critical introduction to the Pañhāvāgarapaṇṇāṃ*, Würzburg, 1936, p. 13.

13. W. SCHUMACER, *Das Mahānisihasutta*, Berlin 1918, p. 92.

14. A. N. UPADHYAY, *Dhūrtākhyāna*, Singh Jain Series XIX, Bombay 1944, Intr., p. 53.

15. S. SEN, *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Indian Linguistics XII, p. 125.

16. L. ALSSOP, *Der Kumārāpālpratibodha*, Hamburg 1928, Introduction, p. 64.

17. J. BLOCH, *La formation de la Langue Marathe*, Paris 1920.



Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa and has left no remnant in modern Gujarati. The formation of the infinitive thus represents one of the major differences between Śvetāmbara and Digambara Apabhraṃśa.

The origin of the ending *-ahū* has not been clearly explained. At first sight it would seem likely that we have here a simple case of the so-called *ha-śruti*, the *-h-* being inserted before the old infinitive ending in *-um*. But PISCHEL<sup>18</sup> warned already long ago: "*-h-* fällt weder aus, noch wird es zur Vermeidung des Hiatus eingeschoben," and he proves that all cases that had up till then been presumed to be examples of the use of the *ha-śruti* are really based on false etymologies. Such a categorical denial is now no longer possible. Old Western Rajasthani<sup>19</sup> for instance occasionally shows insertion of *-h-* e.g., *suhapañ* < \**suapañ* < *suvañ* < *svapnakam*, but in Apabhraṃśa such a proceeding is extremely rare, even in late texts. For the *Sandేశārāsaka*<sup>20</sup> of Abdul Rahmān it has been shown by Dr. BHAYANI that the loss of *-h-* is doubtful in all cases, and that its insertion is not found in that text. The only dialect in which one can find any clear examples of the *ha-śruti* is the "Eastern Apabhraṃśa" of the *Dohakoṣas*<sup>21</sup> and even there all cases are not convincing. The reason for the introduction of the ending *-ahū* must therefore be more than a mere matter of orthography.

The connecting vowel between the root and the ending is always *a* and not *-i-* or *-e-*, and this further helps to discredit the notion of a prakritic infinitive with the insertion of *-h-*; *ahū* thus appears as a complete remodelling of the infinitive in Apabhraṃśa. The use of the connecting vowel *-a-* which occurs also in Kramadīśvara's *-aūṃ*, which may be an intermediate form, is explained by remodelling on the general system of the conjugation of the present in Apabhraṃśa. In Prakrit *-e-* is very often used as the connecting vowel, while Apabhraṃśa has only *-a-*. Thus the 3rd person sg. present indicative in Prakrit is *harei*, Apabhraṃśa *harai*; and therefore *harium*, *hareum* are replaced by \**haraum* in Apabhraṃśa, and the stage described by Kramadīśvara is reached. There is a similar tendency for the weaker vowel *-a-* to be introduced in other parts of the verbal system, as for instance in the absolutes where *-avi* often occurs instead of *-evi*, *-ivi*. The present indicative and the imperative also used a number of personal endings containing an *-h-*, thus Prakrit *haremi*, *-esi* *-ei*, *-emo*, *-eha*, *-enti* corresponds to Digam-

18. R. PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, paragraph 266.

19. L. P. TESSITORI, *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani*, I. A. 1914-16, paragraph 37.

20. JINA VIJAYA MUNI and H. BHAYANI, *Sandేశārāsaka*, Singhi Jain Series XXII, Bombay 1945, paragraph 34 of Introduction.

21. M. SHABDULLAH, *Les chants mystiques de Kātha et de Sarcha*, Paris 1928.

bara Apabhramśa *harāñi*, *-ahī*, *-ai*, *-ahū*- *aku*, *-anti* or *ahi*; but what mostly helped to bring about the introduction of the *-h-* into the infinitive was the influence of the oblique of action nouns, with which the infinitive was felt to be associated. In the genitive sg. *-ha(m)* had replaced the Prakrit *-ssa*, and there even occurs a rare ending *-hum* in the genitive in Apabhramśa, which is admitted as a correct ending by Rāmaśarmatarkavāgiśa. The *-h-* from this source penetrated very early into the infinitive in Digambara Apabhramśa, and the intermediate form, without it, is not attested by the literary documents.

Although it is so frequent in Digambara Apabhramśa, the ending *-ahū* has survived only in Marathi, and not in Eastern Hindi as so many other features of Digambara Apabhramśa. In most of the eastern and western regions of northern India the obligatory participles have become the usual infinitives, according to change B. There are already examples in Prakrit<sup>22</sup> where participles are used in the function of an infinitive e.g., Nāyadhammakahāo 128: *taṃ icchāmi ihaṃ anāyaṃ* = "I wish her to be brought here." In a similar way the obligatory participle could easily be drawn into the formation of an infinitive, particularly in Apabhramśa, where it had often lost its passive meaning. The use of the obligatory participle as infinitive falls into the very latest period of Apabhramśa. It is attested in Digambara Apabhramśa, but as a rare and late feature. The distribution of forms of the infinitive in the Apabhramśa period therefore only partially shows modern conditions. The obligatory participle as infinitive became usual in Gujarat and Rajasthan as well as the Eastern languages, but in Western Hindi the infinitive based on the noun of action in *-ana* was too well established to be replaced.

22. For the use of the present participle as infinitive cf. the examples given by S. Sen, *Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan*, I L. 1953, pts. 3 and 4, p. 118.



## ANUTTAMA AND ANUTTARA, 'UNEXCELLED, SUPREME'

BY

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The Sanskrit word *anuttama*, in the meaning 'highest, supreme' (we are not concerned here with other meanings), has not attracted the attention it deserves. It seems, on the face of things, that it could only be a compound of *a(n)-*, negative, and *uttama*, 'highest, supreme'. So BOEHTLINGK and ROTH 1.204, analyze it; their definition is 'the highest' or the like, which seems to ignore the negative, and makes the word a synonym of *uttama*. BOEHTLINGK seems later to have had qualms about this, for in op. cit. 5.987 he gives the definition 'having no one higher above him; the highest'; and similarly in his minor St. Petersburg lexicon, 1.52, '(having nothing higher above him,) the highest . . .' Similarly APTE's Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1922 ed.), 20, 'having no superior or better, unsurpassed, the very best or highest . . .' (without analysis of the word). There is no doubt of the correctness of these definitions. But there must, it seems, be something wrong about BOEHTLINGK's analysis. For *uttama* means not 'higher' but 'highest'; it is a superlative, not a comparative. On this, APTE, op. cit. 100, and MONIER-WILLIAMS, Skt-Eng. Dict. (2d ed.) 177, are quite right; they do not recognize the meaning 'higher' for *uttama*, as BR. do, op. cit., 1.887. BOEHTLINGK was misled chiefly by a few passages like Bhag. G. 15.18, *aḥam akṣarād api cottamaḥ*, in which the ablative of comparison is used with *uttama*. It is true that in German, and in English, it is natural to translate the word in such a passage by a comparative; we naturally say 'and I am higher than the imperishable too.' But this does not justify BOEHTLINGK in saying that *uttama* is 'used in the meaning of a comparative.' A more literal and precise translation would be 'and I am supreme in comparison with the imperishable too'. We must beware of being misled by idioms of languages into which we are translating. Other superlatives are used in this same way in Sanskrit, with a dependent ablative of comparison; see e.g., RENOU, Gr. sc̐te. p. 301, §221 D. In the other passages in which BOEHTLINGK i.e. attributes 'comparative meaning' to *uttama* he is equally in error; the word is always a superlative, never a comparative.

But how, then, can *anuttama*, seemingly a negative of *uttama*, mean just the same thing as *uttama*?



The essentially correct answer was given long ago by Charles R. LANMAN in his *Skt. Reader* 116; but it seems to have been generally ignored. LANMAN explains *anuttama* as 'lit. "most best", formal superl. to *anuttara*, which is itself logically a superl.' And, just below, *an-uttara*... 'not having a superior, i.e., best.' Modern linguists would modify LANMAN's phraseology; *anuttama* is not exactly a 'formal superl. to *anuttara*' (this would be \**anuttara-tama*, or possibly \**anuttara-ma*). Nowadays we should put it this way: *an-uttara* 'having no superior' and so 'highest, supreme, best', seemed by its meaning to be superlative. Hence, in Sanskrit, the superlative ending *-(ta)ma* was substituted for the comparative *-(ta)ra*, by analogy with other superlatives, especially *uttama*. It is interesting to note that the oldest known occurrence of *anuttama* seems to be *Chândogya Up.* 3.13.7, where it is juxtaposed with *uttama*. The phrase is: *anuttameṣūttameṣu lokeṣu*, 'in the unsurpassed, supreme worlds'. In just such collocations, we may suppose, it was particularly easy for the 'logical' (to quote LANMAN) superlative *anuttara* to be given the superlative ending of its synonym *uttama*. Thus we have the curious result that what appears to be a negative of *uttama* is, in fact, a synonym of that word.

But this is not all that arouses interest in this connection. LANMAN failed to get to the bottom of the matter; and no one else seems to have done so, at least in print.

What about *an-uttara*, on which (as LANMAN rightly says) *anuttama* is based? LANMAN quotes it, as we have seen, as Sanskrit. But it is not Sanskrit, in the meaning 'having no superior, supreme'; it exists in Sanskrit in other meanings, but they are irrelevant here.

True, several classical *Skt.* lexicons quote *an-uttara* in this meaning (the *Amarakoṣa*, *Medinikoṣa*, Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, and *Tri-kāṇḍaśeṣa*). But, so far as I can find, not a single occurrence of it in this meaning has ever been recorded in any Sanskrit text. In my opinion it can be regarded as certain that the lexicons which quote it knew it from only Middle Indic sources (including Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, which was very probably *Tri-kāṇḍaśeṣa*'s source, since that lexicon contains many BHS words unknown in genuine Sanskrit).

The word *anuttara*, 'unexcelled, highest', is very common in Pali. The (Copenhagen) Critical Pali Dictionary erroneously calls it a *tatsama* (relying no doubt on the lexicons which quote it as 'Sanskrit'); the Pali Text Society's Dictionary is here superior to the CPD, for it contents itself with the correct analysis (*an-* plus *uttara*) and cites no *Skt.* equivalent. The word is also very common in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (see my Dictionary s.v.);



likewise in Prakrit, at least Ardhamāgadhī, in the form *anuttara* (for which SHERA's Prakrit Dictionary erroneously cites 'Skt.' *anuttara*).

But the true—and only—Sanskrit equivalent of Middle Indic *anuttara* is *anuttama*. And—note this significant fact—this *anuttama* appears to be entirely unknown in Middle Indic. At least, it certainly does not exist in Pali (else the CPD, a model of completeness, would surely have found it); nor is it recorded in SHERA's Prakrit Dictionary; nor have I been able to find it recorded in any other Middle Indic source.

It looks, then, at first glance, as if Skt. *anuttama* had been changed in Middle Indic into *anuttara*! But that is, in my opinion, historically impossible. I agree with LANMAN that *anuttara* must have been older than *anuttama*, in the meaning here under consideration. It seems to me that the form *anuttama* 'highest, supreme' cannot be understood on any other assumption; it must be an analogical modification of the Middle Indic *anuttara*.

The net result of this little investigation is indeed curious. The certainly older word, *anuttara*, is (as far as our records show) exclusively Middle Indic; for surely the lexical quotations of 'Skt.' *anuttara* only show that these classical Sanskrit lexicons knew their Middle Indic, and failed to distinguish it strictly from Sanskrit. (We should not condemn them too severely for this; some contemporary scholars, even since the publication of my Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, continue to speak of BHS as 'Sanskrit'.) And the certainly later word, *anuttama*, is exclusively Skt. (unknown in Middle Indic). I do not know of any precise parallel for this strange item of Indic vocabulary. Yet there is nothing inherently implausible about it. We know that the R̥gveda itself contains forms showing Middle Indic phonology, and possibly also morphology (so one might look upon e.g. the RV. instr. plur. forms like *sthāvirebhiḥ*, *tébhiḥ*). And Classical Skt. certainly has vocabulary items borrowed from Middle Indic, as their phonology proves, tho some of them are not directly recorded in the Middle Indic dialects known to us.

Indeed, perhaps the only really unique, or at least the most surprising, thing about the range of usage of the two words here discussed is the negative side of the picture: the fact that one of them (and that the older), *anuttara*, was completely eliminated from Sanskrit literary usage; while the other (the younger), *anuttama*, was completely eliminated from all recorded Middle Indic, despite its frequent occurrence in Sanskrit.



# VEDIC GA(M)BHĪRĀ-: AVESTAN GUFRA-

BY

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These two Indo-Iranian words are commonly separated. While Skr. *gabhīrā-* *gambhīrā-* "deep; inscrutable; profound, mysterious" (etc.) together with *gāmbhan-* n., *gambhāra-* n. "depth", *gabhā-* m. "vulva", *gabhi-śāk* "deeply down" and Iranian words like Avest. *jafra-* "deep", *jaṇnu-* "depth", *jaīwi-vaṣra-* "with deep snow" are derived from an Indo-Iranian root \**gambh-* \**gabh-* (-a- < -m-) "deep"<sup>1</sup>, Avest. *gufra-* "deep, mysterious, wonderful" is supposed to be related to the Sanskrit "root" *gup-* "to guard, protect" (*gup[i]tā-* "protected", *gūpti-* "protection", -*gup* "protecting"), Greek γύπη: κοιλωμα γῆς, θαλάμη, γωνία (Hesychios), Old English *cofa* "room, chamber, cave" and other words, see f.i. Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* I, 561 sq. But this etymological combination, although commonly accepted, seems to me questionable because Skr. *gup-* is most plausibly no inherited Indo-European root, but an abstraction (formed within the early history of Sanskrit) of *gopā-*, *gopāyāti* which are of course originally *go-pā-* "cow-herd, protecting (pā-) cows (go-)", but were soon taken as *Gūpa*-forms of a root *gup-* and so produced forms like *gup-tā-*, *gūp-tā-*, -*gup-*, etc.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand there are so many concordances in meaning and textual use between Skr. *ga(m)bhīrā-* and Avestan *gufra-* that a connection of these two words — if we find a way to connect them formally and phonetically — would be highly preferable to a junction of the Avestan word with the Greek and Germanic words and even with the formally and semantically comparable Tokharian A *kupār* "deep".

The meanings of the two words are in total harmony: Both Skr. *ga(m)bhīrā-* and Avest. *gufra-* mean "deep" (of water, esp. of the sea, of

1. The question of etymological relatives outside Indo-Iranian is not important for our little problem. Perhaps the Indo-Iranian root belongs to Old Icelandic *kafa* "to dip" etc. (??); but cf. nowadays T. BERNOW, *Sarūpa-Bhārati* or *The Homage of Indology* (Lakṣman Sarup Memorial Volume), Hoshiarpur 1954, pg. 5 (*gabhīrā-* etc. coming from \**gabhīrā-* etc. by dissimilation, comparable with Old Church Slavonic *globokū* "deep").

2. See f.i. the Petersburg Dictionary s.v.; E. & J. LEUMANN, *Etymologisches Woerterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache* (1907) pg. 90; M. LEUMANN, *Indo-germanische Forschungen* 57 (1940) pg. 220; P. THIEME, *Festschrift W. Schubring* (1951) pg. 9.



streams) on the one hand<sup>3</sup>, "secret, mysterious, profound" on the other hand; and concerning the latter meaning there is one correspondence in the texts that can hardly be produced by chance.<sup>4</sup> In the Rg-Veda 1, 35, 7 Savitar (or Sūra ?)<sup>5</sup> is called *gabhīrāvepā āsuraḥ* "the mysteriously-speaking Asura", while Yašt 10, 25 speaks of Mithra as *ahurəm gufrəm* (acc.) "mysterious Ahura". We may perhaps assume that \**gabh-rā-* "mysterious, profound, deep (in thoughts and mysteries)" was an epithet of \**asura-* already in Aryan times and was inherited by the religious literature in both languages. For, as far as the word-form is concerned, it is well known that Skr. *gabhīrā-*<sup>6</sup> has replaced an older \**gabhrā-*, which is testified by the compound-form Skr. *gabhi-śāk*, Avest. *jaitoi-vafra-* (cf. *ṛjī-pyā-* : *ṛjṛā-*, *śvity-āñc-* : *śvitrā-*, Greek *κῶδι- δειγὰ* : *κῶδός*, etc., see WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik* II/1, 1905, pg. 59 Sqq.) and by Avestan *jafra-* which has drawn its initial *j-* from forms with Indo-Europ. *-e-* while \**gafra-* (\**gm-*) ought to be the regular form. It is only the quality of the vowel that separates this \**gafra-* from our word *gufra-*.

Can we possibly explain the *-u-*? There have been made attempts to solve the question in a throughout phonetical way, but they were clearly not cogent<sup>7</sup>. It might have been, however, that the sound was introduced from an associated word, that a blend of words took place. And once more the comparison of the Indian and Iranian texts gives us a cue on the nature of this influencing word: in the Rg-Veda 7, 87, 6 Varuṇa is called *gambhīrā-śamsaḥ*, plausibly meaning "whose recitations are mysterious, are inscrutable"; in Avestan, there is a similar state of affairs expressed by similar words, but instead of *gambhīrā-* we find a synonym — cf. *gūzrā sōñghānhō* "the secret teachings, the secret speeches" (said of Ahura Mazdā), Yasna 48, 3. If we are allowed to assume that once existed besides Avestan *gūzra-*

3. Cf. in Avestan: Yašt 19, 15 . . . *bunəm zraymihō gufrahe* . . . "bottom of the deep sea"; in Vedic: RV 3, 32, 16 "the deep river" (*sindhu-*); 7, 33, 8 "their greatness is inscrutably deep like that of the sea (*samudrāya*)"; RV 8, 67, 11 *gabhiré* "in the deep (water)"; etc., etc.

4. Cf. also Bernhard GEIGER, *Die Amēša Spēntas* (Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Vol. 176, 1914/15, 7. Abhandlung) pg. 221 sq.

5. See GEIGER, loc. cit.; GELZER, *Der Rig-Veda* (1951) I, pg. 43; cf. also *gambhīrā-vepae-* (*fai-*, *vīpra-*) RV 10, 62, 5; AV 19, 2, 3.

6. The *-m-* of *gambhīrā-* is due to the full forms of the root like *gāmbhān-*, *gāmbhāra-*.

7. See A. MEILLET, *Mém. Soc. Linguist.* 9 (1896) 379 (*gufra-* from \**gamifra-*); on the often compared Avest. *puzda-* "the fifth" see FIEDLER, KZ 27, 193 sqq.; BARTHOLOMAE, *Indogerman. Forschungen* 1, 492; DEBRUNNER-WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik* II/2 (1954) pg. 721 (with bibliogr.), and others.

+ *sēngha-* an Avest. \**gafra-sēngha-* corresponding to Ved. *gambhīrā-śamśa-* (older \**gabhrā-śamśa-*) it is well thinkable that the isolated \**gafra-* (whose belonging to the group of *jafra-*, *jafru-* was perhaps no more felt, since the whole word-family had introduced the *j-*) has received the vowel-quality from the synonymous word, *gūzra-*. Perhaps the "sacral" character<sup>8</sup> of the sound *-u-*, well fitting to a word meaning "mysterious, deep, secret", favoured the influence of *gūzra-* on \**gafra-*.

To sum up: Indo-Iranian had an adjective \**gabhrā-*, in compounds \**gabhi-*, denoting "deep", and "secret, mysterious, profound". In Indian *gabhi-* is preserved, \**gabhrā-* transformed into *ga(m)bhīrā-*; Iranian preserved both, but introduced initial *j-*, regular only in forms with Indo-Europ. *-e-*, in *jafra-*, *jaiwi-*. Only an archaic \**gafra-*—used in the "poetic" sense of the word (whereas *jafra-* has only the "profane" meaning of "deep") and in old inherited formulas (as \**gafra-ahura-*, \**gafra-sēngha-* [?]) preserved the *g-*; this isolated word was influenced by a synonym: Avestan *gūzra-* (cf. Skr. *guh-* "to hide"). It took this word's vowel-quality and resulted in Avestan *gufra-*.

8. W. HAVRES, Zur Entstehung eines sogenannten sakralen u-Elementes in den indogermanischen Sprachen, Anzeiger der oesterreichischen Akad. der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Jg. 1947 Nr. 15; F. STECER, Zum sakralen u, Die Sprache (Vienna) 1 (1949) pg. 43 sqq., etc.



## SIGNED VERSES BY SANSKRIT POETS

BY

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In his history of *kāvya* literature, S. K. De<sup>1</sup> speaks of signed verses as 'not rare in Sanskrit.' These verses are 'cleverly constructed to contain the name itself' of the author. The reference is, of course, not to verses in which the poet gives autobiographical details, but to those in which by some verbal ingenuity he introduces his name in a way that is secondary to his main subject.<sup>2</sup>

Verses with such ascriptions are not uncommonly found in the anthologies. The *Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*,<sup>3</sup> for example, has six verses of this kind, though, to be sure, three of the six had to wait for inclusion in later anthologies before the ascription was made. Given that, as Thomas says (p. 17), we may not 'allow too much weight to [any anthology] ascriptions, so often carelessly set down,' we may view with the eye of suspicion any anthology ascription to a poet of a 'signed' verse if the verse does not occur in an otherwise preserved long work of the poet. The habits of the Sanskrit poets of the decadence were such that any artificiality may be expected of them. At the same time, artificiality was the vice also of most of the writers on the theory and practice of poetry, and of the anthologists with them. Consequently, although there is a chance that the following verse (*Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya* 29) was actually the work of *Murāri*, its reputed author, who is otherwise known for his bad play *Anargharāghava* and for numerous other anthology verses, it is only a fifty-fifty chance, since the last word of the verse, *murāreḥ*, no matter who wrote it, might well have seemed to the anthologist a heaven-sent chance to find in it the punning signature of the poet.

1. S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE, *A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1947), 417. Hereafter to be referred to for short as *History*. I have published an evaluation of this book in *JAOS*, 71, 88-7 (1951), and have expressed there my admiration of De's section, *History of Kāvya Literature*.

2. Closely allied in spirit to such verses are those found in the introductory material of several of the plays attributed to Bhāsa. In these the names of the characters are interwoven. The figure of speech involved is called *mudrāṅkāra* by R. V. JAGNAN, *Drama in Sanskrit Literature* (Bombay, 1947), 74.

3. *Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*. Edited by F. W. THOMAS. (Bibliotheca Indica, work 206, issue no. 1209; Calcutta, 1912.)

vande bhujabhramitamandaramathyamāna-  
dugdhābdhidugdhakṣaṇavicchuritacchavīkam  
nakṣatrakarvuraviyatpratirodhinindad-  
unnidrakairavataḍāgam uro murāreḥ

'I venerate Murāri's (i.e. Viṣṇu's) breast, its skin besprinkled with milk drops from the milk ocean which was being churned with Mount Mandara twirled by his arms, so that it (his breast) seemed to be a pool of full-blown white lotuses rivaling and mocking the sky befecked with stars.'

A woman poet called Jaghanacapalā is given by Thomas as the author of his verse 518. A detailed examination of this case yields instructive results.

The word *jaghanacapalā* as a common noun has two meanings. It denotes 'a libidinous woman,' this conventional (*rūḍha*) meaning being derived obviously from the etymological (*yoga*) meaning of the compound, 'shaking as to the hips or buttocks' (Weber, 'die mit den Hüften wackelt'). As a common noun it also denotes a variety of the *āryā* meter, in which in the second hemistich the 2nd and 4th gaṇas (feet of 4 morae each) are amphibrachs (◡—◡) and each is flanked at each of its ends by a long vowel, the hemistich being :

◡◡—|◡—◡|—|◡—◡|—◡◡|◡|◡◡◡◡|◡\*

This word as the name of a meter is<sup>4</sup> a compound of *capalā*, which is the technical name for the type of *āryā* hemistich just described, and *jaghana-*, which denotes the second hemistich of the *āryā* verse (as it does also in *jaghanavipulā*, in which *vipulā* denotes 'the type of *āryā* hemistich which lacks a caesura after the third gaṇa'); cf. also *mukhacapalā*, the reverse of the *jaghanacapalā*, with the *capalā* type of hemistich in the first half of the verse (*mukha-* 'head').

It is, then, somewhat accidental and with different analyses of the compound that the two meanings of *jaghanacapalā* are carried by the same word; the meanings are not derivative from one another. However, the writers of Sanskrit have not failed to see their opportunity to make a pun. The word in its meaning 'a libidinous woman' is somewhat rare, and, in fact, I have found no example (except for some of the secondary variants of the Pāñcatantra verse given below) in which it did not occur in a verse in the *jaghana-*

4. Albrecht Weber, *Indische Studien* 8.296 ff. (1863).

5. As Weber indicated, *ibid.*, 171.



*capalā* meter!<sup>6</sup> This was to be expected in the examples in treatises on metrics; the striking thing is its application elsewhere. Halāyudha, the commentator (cir. 950 A.D.) on the earlier (probably much earlier) treatise on metrics, the *Piṅgalasūtra*, gives three examples, all containing descriptions of the libidinous woman, with consequently an easy way to use the word in both its meanings as a common noun.

An earlier and somewhat more ingenious example is the following. In the sixth-century astrological work, Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā*, chapter 104 on the 'planetary movements' (*grahagocārādhyāyaḥ*) is famous, or notorious, for the fact that in its first two verses it announces by a series of puns that the chapter will treat of the *grahagocaras* in verses which at the same time exemplify the various meters, and that then it exemplifies the meters in 63 verses, each of which contains the name of its meter used punningly. Verse 2 ends: *āryā mukhacapatvam kṣamadhvam naḥ* 'O noble ones (*āryā* by sandhi for *āryās*), pardon our loquaciousness (*mukhacapatvam*)!' and exemplifies and names the type of *āryā* called *mukhacapalā*. Verse 3 exemplifies and names the *jaghanacapalā* meter:

*māṇḍavyagiraṃ śrutvā na madiyā rocate 'tha vā nai 'vam  
sādhvī tathā na pūṃsām priyā yathā syāj jaghanacapalā*

'Or rather [i.e. far from my style needing the pardon mentioned in verse 2], when you have heard [my predecessor] Māṇḍavya's utterance [which is good, but unadorned], mine in this way will not fail to please. A chaste woman would not be so dear to men as a libidinous one (*jaghanacapalā*).'<sup>7</sup> The sentiment in the second half of the verse seems to be motivated only by the need to introduce the name of the meter with its other meaning as a common noun.

One other verse with this word is found, with a number of variant readings, in two of the *Pañcatantra* recensions and in a number of the antho-

6. Since the occurrence of the word known to me were nearly all found with the aid of the usual dictionaries, it is probable that there are other occurrences, some of which may be different in type from those discussed.—It is to be noted that not all *jaghanacapalā* verses contain the word in the other meaning; e.g., the verse illustrating this meter in the *Bhāratiya-nāṭyśāstra* does not have it, though it has both the elements of the compound separately (Manomohan Ghose's translation in the *Bibliotheca Indica* 272 [Calcutta, 1951]; XVI 167).—I cannot refrain from pointing out that Kālidāsa seems to have approached very close to this literary trick in his play *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*. His first example of the *mandākrāntā* ('slow-motion') meter in this play (1.14 in Prachin's HOS edition) has in its last quarter the word *mandamandam* ('very slowly'). This surely is not mere coincidence; the poet really intended to tickle the cognoscenti by his playful suggestive skill.



logies. Relative dates for the earliest of these versions are not quite certain, nor are the readings in all cases firmly established.

Probably the earliest of the texts is the 'textus simplicior' of the *Pañcatantra*, which is dated between cir. 900 A.D. and 1199 A.D. The editions<sup>7</sup> do not give a critical text, nor has enough information been published about the manuscripts to guarantee the readings. The verse occurs twice in the *textus simplicior* in two slightly different forms.

Book 1, vs. 173:

durdivase 'sitapakṣe duḥsaṃcārāsu nagaravithiṣu  
patyau videśayāte param sukhaṃ jaghanacapalāyāḥ

'When the city streets are difficult to move about in on a rainy day in the dark half of the month, and her husband has gone to a foreign country, there is great happiness for a libidinous woman.'

Book 4, vs. 53:

durdivase ghanatimire duḥsaṃcārāsu nagaravithiṣu  
patyau videśayāte paramasukhaṃ jaghanacapalāyāḥ

The only difference in meaning here is 'on a rainy day dark with clouds' instead of 'on a rainy day in the dark half of the month.' The difference in reading *paramasukhaṃ* instead of *param sukhaṃ* makes no difference in meaning, but the verse in its form in book 1 is in the *jaghanacapalā* meter, and that in book 4 is in an undifferentiated *āryā*.

The anthology *Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*,<sup>8</sup> which has come down to us in a manuscript of about the second half of the twelfth century but may have been put together between one and two centuries earlier, is possibly earlier than Pūrṇabhadra's version of the *Pañcatantra*, called *Pañcākhyānaka*. It gives this verse (no. 518) with a somewhat different first quarter:

durdinaniṣṭhāpavane niḥsaṃcārāsu nagaravithiṣu  
patyau videśayāte param sukhaṃ jaghanacapalāyāḥ

7. *Pañchatantra I.*, ed. F. KELLHORN (Bombay Sanskrit Series IV; Bombay, 1869); *Pañchatantra II and III*, ed. G. BÜTTNER (Bombay Sanskrit Series III; Bombay, 1868); *Pañchatantra IV and V.*, ed. G. BÜTTNER (Bombay Sanskrit Series I; Bombay, 1868). This verse does not occur in any other *Pañcatantra* version than this and Pūrṇabhadra's, and is one of the *textus simplicior*'s 'enormous number of unoriginal stanzas,' to quote from Franklin Edgerton, *The Pañchatantra Reconstructed* (2 vols.; New Haven, Conn., 1924), vol. 2, p. 29.

8. See note 3.



'When the city streets show no movement of wayfarers in the wind on a night of rainy weather, and her husband, etc.' The differences in the first quarter-verse between the Pañcatantra verses just given and this verse, make it certain that both were copied from an earlier text. Furthermore, since this verse and the verse in book 1 of the *textus simplicior* of the Pañcatantra agree in their reading *paraṃ sukhaṃ* and consequently in the *jaghanacapalā* meter, we may be sure that this reading and this metrical form were in the source from which both texts copied. The original form of the verse, then, is of the punning type discussed above, with the word *jaghanacapalā* carrying both its meanings as a common noun.

It is hardly worthwhile to discuss all the variants that the verse shows in its later history. Pūrṇabhadra (1190 A.D.) copied from manuscripts of the Pañcatantra *textus simplicior* in his book 1, vs. 133 and book 3, vs. 177.<sup>9</sup> The first hemistichs are very like those of the *textus simplicior*. The second hemistichs, as printed in the edition, are both of the form:

patyur videśagamane paramasukhaṃ jaghanacapalāyāḥ

'upon her husband's going to a foreign country, there is great happiness for a libidinous woman.' Neither verse, then, is in the *jaghanacapalā* meter. However, one of the editor's manuscripts, namely Bh, has in book 3, vs. 177 a second hemistich identical with that of the *textus simplicior*, book 1, vs. 173; the verse, consequently, is in the *jaghanacapalā* meter in this manuscript. It is difficult, considering the eclecticism of both Pūrṇabhadra and some of his copyists (including that of manuscript Bh.), to be sure what Pūrṇabhadra really wrote here, nor need we attempt to decide.<sup>10</sup>

Five anthologies after the Kavindravacanasaṃuccaya quote the verse, usually with differences of reading, which in the first hemistich usually approach closer to the Pañcatantra variants. The anthologies are: Vallabha-deva's *Subhāsitāvalī*, which has a nucleus of the 12th century but was com-

9. The text was published by Johannes HERTZ in Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1908); variant readings are given in Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 12 (Cambridge, Mass., 1912).

10. G. L. KOSEGARTEN's *Pantschatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens* (Bonni, 1848, 1859) is partly *textus simplicior* and partly Pūrṇabhadra in origin. The verse appears three times in this edition, with some further variants; no version is in the *jaghanacapalā* meter. Otto BÖTLINGK, *Indische Sprüche* (St. Petersburg, 1870, 1872, 1873) gives the verse from KOSEGARTEN and the Bombay edition, as no. 2863. We may neglect the verse as given in the *textus ornati* of the *Sukasaptatī*, since story 38 in which it occurs is a borrowing from Pūrṇabhadra; the meter is not *jaghanacapalā*. This text was published by Richard SCHMIDT, *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 21.2 (1898-9). 317-416.



pleted not earlier than the 15th century;<sup>11</sup> the *Sūktimuktāvali*, later than 1257 A.D.; Hari Kavi's *Subhāṣitahārāvali*, Venīdatta's *Padyaveṇī* and Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Aṅkolakara's *Padyaracanā*, all of the 17th century. By the time of these 17th-century anthologies the second hemistich had been sufficiently corrupted through contaminations and accidents to have lost the characteristics of the *jaghanacapalā* meter. However, the *Padyaveṇī* and the *Padyaracanā* added the complication of an ascription of the verse to a poetess *Jaghanacapalā*, punningly referred to by the final word *jaghanacapalāyāh*!<sup>12</sup>

Finally, the recent anthology by Jatindra Bimal CHAUDHURI and Roma CHAUDHURI, *Sanskrit Poetesses*, Part A,<sup>13</sup> adopts the ascription of the 17th-century anthologies. The CHAUDHURIS have doubts about this poetess, because the word *jaghanacapalā* is also the name of the meter in which the verse is composed. S. K. DE<sup>14</sup> also feels doubtful because of the name of the meter, because this is the only verse ascribed to this author, and because *Jaghanacapalā* is a 'rather strange and unusual' name, as indeed it is for anyone but a courtesan, since it could be (somewhat rudely) translated as 'Switch-bottom'! Even without these additional reasons, however, the lateness of the ascription is sufficient indication that the poetess is only a figment of the anthologists' imaginations.

One point in the history of this verse is noteworthy. It was undoubtedly composed to illustrate the metrical type, the *jaghanacapalā āryā*. But that this was so, failed to be recognized by many of the copyists and anthologists; hence the verbal changes which destroyed the old meter. Nor did this *recherché* point take the attention of most of the modern editors and

11. *The Subhāṣitāvali of Vāṇabhadeva*. Edited by Peter Peterson and Pandit Durgaprasada. (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 31; Bombay, 1886.) S. K. DE has made it at least probable that it was quoted directly in 1160 A.D. but that our present text contains many later additions and in its present form is not earlier than the 15th century. His controversy on the subject with A. Berriedale KEITH is found in the following articles: DE, *JRAS* 1927, 471-7; KEITH, *BSOS* 5. 27-32 (1928); DE, *ib.* 499-503 (1929). DE gives this dating in *History* 418, but his views seem not to be known to his collaborator in this volume (538 f.), nor to M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1937).

12. THOMAS in his exegetical note on p. 236 of his *Kavindravacasnamuccaya* says that *Jaghanacapalā* is the name of the authoress of verse 518, and he gives a reference to verse 29 and the other 'signed' verses listed in the note on that verse. However, he is merely following the 17th-century anthologies, as he makes clear in his listing of *Jaghanacapalā* on p. 122. V. RAGHAVAN has a note on this fictitious poetess as named in the *Padyaracanā* in his article "Sanskrit and Prākṛt Poetesses," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 25 (1934-35), 49-74, esp. 63.

13. 2d ed., Calcutta, 1941. Verse 35; text on p. 15, translation on p. 81.

14. *History* 417.



commentators; in general they were not so discerning of metrical niceties as the Chaudhuris and S. K. De.

Is the evidence sufficient to allow one to guess that the word *jaghana-capalā* was first compounded as a technical term to label the variety of *āryā* meter so called, and that then it was re-used punningly in the meaning 'libidinous woman'? Certainly the rarity of the word in the latter meaning—in fact, its failure to occur except in combination with the other meaning (if, of course, our dictionaries can be taken as evidence that it really does so fail)—looks in this direction, and makes us think of the writers of erotic poetry as inventors of meters and names of meters, for whom Hermann JACOBI made such a strong case.<sup>15</sup>

AUFRECHT<sup>16</sup> listed a number of occurrences of 'signed' verses in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*<sup>17</sup> (cir. 1363 A.D.), without voicing any suspicion that the ascriptions might be fictitious. When, however, a verse containing the word *rudatī* (no. 3420; 'the weeping woman') is attributed to Rudatīpāṇḍita ('the paṇḍit of the *rudatī*-verse'), and a verse containing the word *nidrā-daridraḥ* (no. 3454; 'suffering from want of sleep') is attributed to an author Nidrādaridra, we may justly think that the names have been derived from the verses.

Another of the verses thus signed has a complicated history of ascription. In the quasi-anthology, Ballāla's *Bhojaprabandha*,<sup>18</sup> a poet Kṛīḍācandra rebukes King Bhoja for his bad manners in asking newly-arrived scholars their names, and speaks a verse (no. 115) in which one of the key words is identical with his name, as Kālidāsa deduces. The verse is:

cyutām indor lekhām ratikalāhābhagnam ca valayam  
dvayam cakrīkṛtya prahasitamukhī śailatanayā  
avocad yaṁ paśye 'ty avatu sa śivaḥ sã ca girijā  
sa ca kṛīḍācandro daśanakiraṇāpūritatanuḥ

'The Mountain's daughter [Pārvatī] with smiling face said, "Look!" to Śiva when she had formed into a disk these two, the crescent of the moon fallen [from Śiva's head] and the bangle broken in the strife of love. May protection be granted by that Śiva and the Mountain's daughter and that Moon

15. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 38 (1884). 615 f.

16. *Ibid.*, 27 (1873). 3.

17. *The Paddhati of Śarṅgadhara*. Edited by Peter PETERSON. (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 37; Bombay, 1888.)

18. Translation by Louis H. GRAY, *The Narrative of Bhoja (Bhojaprabandha)* by Ballāla of Benares (American Oriental Series, 34; New Haven, Conn., 1950).



formed in play (*kṛiḍācandra*), whose body is filled with rays from [the couple's dazzlingly white] teeth.'

This verse occurs otherwise in three of the anthologies. In Śrīdhara-dāsa's *Saduktikarpāmṛta*<sup>19</sup> of 1206 A.D. it is verse 1. 11. 5, attributed to Vararuci. In the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*<sup>20</sup> (cir. 1363 A.D.) it is verse 96, attributed to Kṛiḍācandra. In Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*<sup>21</sup> (12th to 15th centuries) it is verse 66, attributed to Candaka or Candraka. The author of the *Bhojaprabandha* flourished at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.

It is obvious that Ballāla in giving the verse to Kṛiḍācandra is following the attribution of the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*. It seems almost equally obvious that the Candaka or Candraka attribution is somehow connected with the name Kṛiḍācandra. When there is no other evidence, it is impossible to be sure which of the two occurrences of a verse, that in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and that in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, should be given priority. In the present instance it seems plausible (on the principle of the *lectio difficilior*) to assume that the poet Kṛiḍācandra, who is found nowhere else in Sanskrit literature or literary history, has been replaced by the somewhat more familiar Cand(r)aka.<sup>22</sup> And yet, the reverse is not entirely ruled out, if the verse belonged to the original nucleus of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*. The earliest attribution of the verse, that to Vararuci, need not be discussed at length: the verse may originally have been his, or we may guess that his name, like other famous names, attracted unattributed verses for one reason or another.<sup>23</sup> For *Śārṅgadharā*, then, the verse was either without attribution, or attributed to Cand(r)aka; he invented a name for its putative author on the basis of the striking word *kṛiḍācandro*, just as he invented *Rudatīpaṇḍita*, *Nidrādaridra*, and others.

'Signed' verses, then, seem with varying degrees of probability to be attributable to the poets to whom they are ascribed. Even the most innocent-seeming ascriptions often are contradictorily treated in the series of anthologies, and Thomas's warning, that we should not 'allow too much weight to such ascriptions,' seems justified.

19. *Saduktikarpāmṛta* of Śrīdhara-dāsa. Edited by Pandit Rāmāvētāra ŚARMA. (Punjab Oriental Series, 15; Lahore, 1933.) In it the last word reads: *daśanakiraṇāpūritakalāḥ* 'whose digits are filled up with rays....'

20. See note 11. The verse is given and translated by Auvretsch, *ZDMG* 27.18 f.

21. See note 11.

22. For whom see *Dg. History* 119.

23. For a thumbnail sketch of Vararuci and the various works attributed to him, see *Dg. History* 10, fn. 5.



In the following two verses, however, that are found in one work, the poet, whose name is sure beyond any shadow of doubt, inserted a signature by means of puns in which parts of verses were short sentences having reference to him as well as to their proper subject matter.

These examples are found in Bāṇa's Caṇḍisataka. QUACKENBOS in his translation<sup>24</sup> has seldom missed the elaborate śleṣas of the poet, but both these instances were neglected by him (and by the commentary followed by him) since they are only fragmentary puns and do not, like the elaborate puns generally found, give complete double meanings for a whole verse. They are, as it were, fragmentary and fleeting secondary suggestions that are to be recognized by sensitive auditors. Although they add nothing to the sentiment (*rasa*) suggested primarily by the poet, they add a fillip to the auditors' pleasurable appreciation through their recognition of the poet's skill in the handling of his difficult technique.

Verse 24, pāda a: *śārṅgin bāṇam vimuñca bhramasi balir asau samyataḥ kena bāṇo*, has already two meanings, according to the Sanskrit commentary in the Kāvya-mālā edition used by Quackenbos. Caṇḍi speaks in derision to one of the gods who were unsuccessful against the demon Mahiṣa: 'O Bowman (Viṣṇu), let fly thine arrow; thou art mistaken [in supposing that] this (Mahiṣa) is Bali; why is thy arrow held back?' Or: 'O Viṣṇu, let Bāṇa [the demon Bali's son] go; thou art mistaken [in supposing that] this [thy captive] is Bali; why is Bāṇa held in captivity?' The words *bāṇam* and *bāṇo* undoubtedly suggest also the poet's name. Even more—*bāṇam vimuñca* and *samyataḥ kena bāṇo* mean: 'Release Bāṇa [from the *samsāra*, the bonds of existence]!' 'Why is Bāṇa bound?' This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as a prayer to Viṣṇu (*śārṅgin*) or to Caṇḍi herself to whom the verse as a whole (and the poem) is addressed.

Most of verse 30 is addressed by Śiva to his wife Caṇḍi in admiration for her feat in slaying Mahiṣa. In pādas c and d he says: *vyathayasi mahiṣam nai 'kaṁ anyān api tvam/ye yudhyante 'tra nai 'va* 'thou didst discomfit not Mahiṣa alone, but also others who did not fight there at all.' These 'others' are indicated in pādas a and b by puns. Pāda a, consequently, has two interpretations, the first referring to Mahiṣa's death, the other to victory over the demons Bāṇa and Bali. It reads: *kṣipto bāṇaḥ kṛtas te trikavinatitato nirvalir madhyadeśaḥ*. The interpretations are: 'The arrow (*bāṇaḥ*) was sped (*kṣipto*), and thy (*te*) abdomen (*madhyadeśaḥ*), stretched taut by the

24. *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra ... together with ... Bāṇa's Caṇḍisataka*. (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, 9; New York, 1917.) Translations are taken from this, usually without change.



twisting of thy shoulders (*trika-vinati-tato*), became (*kṛtas*) free from wrinkles (*nir-valir*); and: 'Bāṇa (*bāṇaḥ*) was laid low (*kṣipto*), and the Middle Region (*madhyadeśaḥ*; i.e. the central part of the north of India, from about Delhi to Allahabad), being stretched in obeisance to the three sacred syllables (*trika-vinati-tato*), became (*kṛtas*) freed from Bali (*nir-balir*).' In addition, the fragments: *kṣipto bāṇaḥ kṛtas . . . trikavinatitato*, mean in reference to the poet: 'Bāṇa (*bāṇaḥ*), having thrown himself down (*kṣipto*), became (*kṛtas*) stretched out in obeisance to the three poets (*trikavi-nati-tato*).'<sup>25</sup>

It remains to identify the 'three poets' (*trikavi*). I have been unable (so far) to find closely parallel phraseology in a *kāvya* text or elsewhere. However, Rājasēkhara's narrative of the origin of *kāvya* in the 3rd chapter of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*<sup>26</sup> clearly provides an interpretation. The three first *kavis* in Rājasēkhara's account are Uśanas (also called Śukra, Kāvya, and Kavi), Vālmiki, and Vyāsa. Uśanas is well known in this role from the *Bhagavadgītā* 10.37, where Kṛṣṇa, in stating his manifestations as the chief of every category, says: *kavīnām uśanā kavīḥ* 'of the *kavis* [I am] the *kavi* Uśanas'; it was on this passage that Rājasēkhara undoubtedly relied in making Uśanas the original *kavi*.

It need not be demonstrated that Vālmiki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is commonly known as the *ādikavi* 'the first poet.'

The *Mahābhārata*, of which Vyāsa is the reputed reciter, is hardly a *kāvya* in the technical sense. It has been thought, however,<sup>27</sup> that it makes a claim to being a *kāvya*. All the passages making this claim, so far as I can discover, were in the first two chapters of the vulgate text. Examination of the critical edition shows that all are interpolations made later than the fixed text from which all our manuscripts derive. That they are interpolations well established in several branches of both northern and southern recen-

25. This interpretation was suggested by one of my students, P. L. GARCOS; I have developed it.

26. This treatise on the art of poetry, of the 9th-10th centuries, published in Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 1, was translated into French by Nadine STENOUPAK and Louis RIZOV, *La Kāvya-mīmāṃsā de Rājasēkhara* (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, VIII; Paris, 1946). The narrative is on pp. 40-54 of the translation, and is provided with copious notes which I have gratefully used, especially those on Uśanas.—The three classes of *kavis* of progressively decreasing merit, which were established by Rājasēkhara in chapter 4, can hardly be invoked here, since, quite apart from the bad meaning that would be involved, the chronology is out of order.

27. E. W. HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India* (New York, 1902), p. 53 and p. 80, fn. 1.



sions<sup>28</sup> is significant of a fairly general, but comparatively late, Hindu attitude towards this epic, but it has no more weight than that. All that is left in the established text is the claim that the epic (called merely *itihāsa* and *ākhyāna*) provides sustenance and ideas to *kavis* (who are preeminently elaborators of epic themes). The passages relevant to this point<sup>29</sup> are both in the second chapter of book 1, a chapter that, though like its neighbouring chapters 1 and 3 it occurs in our earliest fixed text, yet will be granted by 'higher criticism' to have less claim than most of the epic to be nuclear.<sup>30</sup>

The attitude towards Vyāsa as a *kavi* that is displayed in the epic interpolations is backed by a scatter of literary and critical passages. The literary theorist Ānandavardhana (cir. 850 A.D.) in the commentary on the Dhvanyāloka verse 1.1<sup>31</sup> applied the term *kāvya* to the Mahābhārata. Rāja-

28. The passages in vol. 1 of the Poona critical edition are as follows. To the 1st chapter, Appendix 1, passage 1, lines 13, 34, 35, and also line 1 of the further interpolation given in the footnote to the passage; it is line 13 that contains the phrase *kāvyaṃ paramapūjitaṃ* quoted by Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 80, fn. 1. To the 2nd chapter, the interpolation given in passage 187\* as occurring after 1. 2. 241:

asya kāvyasya kavayo na samarthā viśeṣaṇe  
sādhor iva gr̥hasthasya śeṣe trayā ivā 'śramāḥ

'Kavis are as incapable of surpassing this *kāvya* [i.e. the epic] as the other three *śrēṣṭhas* the excellent *śrēṣṭha* of the householder.'

The use of the word *kāvya* in the Mahābhārata is an interesting problem that I am unable to solve for lack of a word index. It is clear that it occurs designating one of the sages and as a secondary adjective referring to him; see SOMENSON'S *Index of Names in the Mahābhārata*, s.v., and also these meanings and references in PW (1. *kāvya*). All the Mahābhārata instances, however, of *kāvya* in the sense of 'poem' or the like (PW's 2. *kāvya*) have turned out to be in interpolations (including PW's somewhat problematic reference 2,453 [otherwise referred to as 2. 11. 36; interpolation 130\* after 2. 11. 26 in the critical edition], on which, as a reference also to the drama in the epic, Hopkins, p. 55, spilt a deal of ink). Is it possible that there are no instances of *kāvya* 'poem' in the critical text of the Mahābhārata?

29. 1. 2. 237ab:

itihāṣottamād asmāḥ jāyante kavibuddhayah

'from this best of histories proceed the ideas of the *kavis*.'

1. 2. 241ab:

idaṃ sarvaṇi kavivarair ākhyānam upajīvyate  
udaysprepsūhīr bhṛtyair abhijāta iva 'śvaraḥ

'All the excellent *kavis* are sustained by this narrative, as servants desiring elevation by a highborn lord.'

30. See, e.g., D. D. KOSAMBI'S instructive remarks on the first three chapters of the Mahābhārata in *JAOS* 66 (1946), 110-2.

31. *Kāvyamālā* ed., p. 11.

śekhara (9th-10th cent.), whose Kāvyaśāstra has just been cited, in the first verse of his drama Karpūramañjarī also used the word *vāsāṇo* '[the poets], Vyāsa and the rest.' The earliest allusion to Vyāsa that I have found in this vein<sup>32</sup> is by Bāṇa himself (first half of the 7th century), in the third introductory verse of the Harṣacarita:

namaḥ sarvavidī tasmai  
vyāsāya kavivedhase

'Homage to that Vyāsa who is all-knowing, the creator among poets....' This last phrase may well allude to the epic's claim that it provides sustenance and ideas to *kavis*.<sup>33</sup>

These three, then, are the *kavis* to whom Bāṇa does obeisance. They are ṛṣis, and Kālidāsa, whom one might be tempted to make the third in the triad with Vyāsa and Vālmīki, is after all only a man.

32. Further search of the literature is almost sure to bring more passages to light.—It is not necessary to do more than mention J. NOLLE's misconception, to the effect that the Mahābhārata 'is not called a *kāvya* by Indian tradition' (*The Foundations of Indian Poetry* [Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 16. E. 9; 1925], p. 5).

33. So, in fact, the commentator Śaṅkara (in FÜLLEB's ed., Bombay Sanskrit Series, 66) interprets, quoting Mahābhārata 1. 2. 237ab which I have given in note 29, and saying that the word *kavi* is used figuratively (*upacārāt*) for *kavibuddhi*, *kavivedhas*—being then 'the creator of the ideas of the *kavis*.'



## REFLECTIONS ON SARVA- IN VEDIC TEXTS

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In perusing those passages from the ancient parts of Vedic literature which contain the word *sarva-* or compounds with *sarva-* we soon get the impression that translators have often disagreed with regard to the exact equivalent of these words in particular contexts. Cases are not rare in which even translations from the same pen are at variance with each other. An attempt may therefore be made to examine this word more closely. The comment made by GRASSMANN on the meaning of *sarva-* in the R̥gveda is still worth quoting. The basal meaning "undivided, complete" ("ungeteilt, vollständig"), this authority says,<sup>1</sup> prevails in this corpus, the idea of "all" being mostly denoted by *viśva-*, seldom and only in the younger parts by *sarva-*. GRASSMANN is no doubt right in vindicating, contrary to the Petrograd Dictionary, a meaning "undivided, whole, uninjured" ("ganz, ungeteilt, unversehrt").

This sense is perfectly evident in the following passages: RV. 1, 41, 2 *yām bāhūteva pīprati pānti mārtyaṃ riṣóh | áriṣṭaḥ sárva edhate* "the mortal being, whom they (the Ādityas) bring over (i.e. save), so to say, in the arms and protect from injury, prospers 'complete' (i.e. in sound condition) and unhurt (or rather: safe, secure)"; 8, 27, 16 *prá sá kṣáyam tirate... | prá prajābhū jāyate... áriṣṭaḥ sárva edhate* "he increases his house..., he propagates offspring..., he prospers safe and sound". In 10, 161, 5—which, being the last stanza of a *sūkta* intended to release a patient from consumption, also occurs, as 8, 1, 20 in the Atharvaveda—it reads: *sārvāṅga sárvaṃ te cākṣuḥ sárvaṃ āyus ca te 'vidam* "whole-limbed one! I have won your sight and your life safe and sound".

The translations given for the same adjective when occurring in the Atharvaveda seem to be, in places, in need of modification. AV. 18, 4, 8 (funeral verses) *mahimānam agnér... sāmaṅgaḥ sárva ūpa yāhi* "do thou, with thy limbs, 'complete in all parts', i.e. safe and sound, go unto Agni's greatness". The adjective not infrequently refers to the completeness or totality after an enumeration of the parts or constituents: 2, 31, 5; 19, 5, 1;

1. H. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda, column 1489.



cf. also 4, 20, 4 *sárvam*... *yás ca śūdrá utāryaḥ*, and RV. 10, 163, 5 and 6. AV. 8, 2, 25 *sárvō vai tātra jīvati gaur āśvaḥ pūruṣaḥ paśūḥ*...—which forms part of a series of stanzas intended to be used in ceremonies for continuation of life and vitality—was translated by WHITNEY-LANMAN<sup>2</sup> as follows: "every one, verily, lives here—ox, horse, man, beast, where this charm is performed, a defence unto living". There is, however, as far as I am able to see, no objection to an interpretation: "unhurt, safe and sound": "cow, horse, man... live and are uninjured, where...". In the corresponding stanza in the Taitt. Ār. (6, 11, 12) the first pāda, though different in wording, harmonizes in sense: *nā vai tātra prā mīyate*. AV. 16, 4, 6 the adjective occurs in the same context as *suasti*- "well-being", a combination which is to recur on one of the following pages: *suastī adyōśāso dośāś ca sārva āpaḥ sārvaḥ aśīya* "may I, O waters, attain today dawns and evenings with well-being (i.e. well) safe and sound, and my train safe and sound" ("whole and with my whole train" WHITNEY-LANMAN).

The sense of *sarva*- may also be illustrated by passages such as Ait. Br. 6, 31, 2 *na vai sakṛd evāgre sarvaḥ sambhavaty, ekaikaṃ vā aṅgaṃ sambhavataḥ sambhavati* "not at once...does it come into being whole, separately each member comes into being as it comes into being". Hence also the compound *sarvāṅga*- (RV. 10, 161, 5; AV. 8, 2, 8 etc.) "whole-limbed, entire or perfect in limb" (joining *aśīṣa*- "unhurt"), and "complete" (in general).

The combinations of *sarva*- and *viśva*- are therefore not necessarily tautological in character: TBr. 3, 1, 1, 1 *yasyemā viśvā bhuvanāni sarvā* may have meant "...all these worlds in their completeness (entirety)", *viśva*- pointing out the inability to proceed after a certain total number has been counted, *sarva*- emphasizing the idea of wholeness and completeness and the inability to discern defectiveness.

Let us now turn to the compound *asarva*-. In AV. 9, 2, 14 *āsarvavīras caratu...dvēṣyo mitrāṇāṃ parivargyāḥ svānām* the translation given by the American scholars "with his heroes not safe" is doubtless preferable to that of the Petrograd Dictionary: "whose people are not complete" ("seine Leute nicht voll beisammen habend"). The adjective is of some frequency in the *brāhmaṇas*: Jalm. Br. 3, 123 is very instructive: *kumārī, śhaviro vā ayam asarvo nālaṃ patitvanāya* "girl, this old man, who is decrepit, is no adequate husband". The sense of the word no doubt is "defective, not complete, lacking something essential"; *ibid.* 124 *yuvam vā asarvau śho, yau devau santāv*

2. W. D. WHITNEY, *Atharva-veda Samhitā*, revised by Ch. R. LANMAN, Harvard 1905, p. 480.



*asomapau sthah* "you are 'defective' (incomplete)—or: there is something wrong with you, because though being gods you are not admitted to drink the soma juice". Cf. also Śat. Br. 4, 1, 5, 10 ff. *na vai susarvāṁ tva stho na susamyddhau* "you are neither quite complete nor quite perfect". A person who is neither a nobleman nor a purohita is incomplete: *asarva-*, the same brāhmaṇa says (6, 6, 3, 12).

In an interesting pericope of the Jaiminiya-upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa, 3, 1, 1, 1 ff. the reasons are given why some powerful beings may be called *asarva-*: in that the sun has gone to setting, it has gone to the seizers who are in the west, therefore it is not complete: *tena so 'sarvah*; the moon and the asterisms are for the same reason "incomplete"; the fire is *asarva-*, because it dies out; day and night, because they pass; the quarters of the sky, because they are confounded and cannot be distinguished at night; the god of rain, because he loses and draws water<sup>3</sup>; the waters, the herbs, and the forest-trees, because they are exhausted. Here the sense of *asarva-* is very much in evidence: what is not always and in all respects perfect, what in some respects falls short of the ideal standards, what loses part of the power or energy which it represents, is *asarva-*.

From a passage in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (8, 7) it appears that the long formula *devasya tvā savituh prasave* etc. etc. is not considered to be "complete" as long as it is not concluded by *bhūh, bhuvah, svaḥ*. "If he is anointed without a complete formula, he is liable to depart before he has completed a full lifetime" (*yad asarveṇa vāco 'bhiṣikto bhavatiśvaro ha tu purāṇiṣaḥ praitoh...*). The *vyāhrtis*, indeed, are *sarvāpti-* i.e. they represent "the obtaining of completeness",<sup>4</sup> and by adding these the institutor of the sacrifice is liable to complete a full lifetime, to live the whole of an *āyus*; by conquest he obtains "*sarvaṁ*": *śvaro ha sarvaṁ āyur aitoḥ, sarvaṁ āpnod vijayena*. It may be added that the commentary explains *asarveṇa* by *sam-pūrtirahitena* "destitute of completion".

In connection with the sacrificial horse the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 5, 1, 4, 5 observes that it was produced incomplete (*asarva-*) when it was produced from the waters, because something belonging to it was left behind; by means of that one completes the horse and makes it whole (*samardhayati kṛtsnam karoti*). The wife, the same brāhmaṇa (5, 2, 1, 10) holds, is one half (i.e., the complementary part: *ardhaḥ*) of his own self; hence, as long as

2. I am not able to understand OERTZ's translation: Parjanya rains and holds up (*uc ca grhṇāti*: H. OERTZ, in the Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc. 16, p. 159).

4. KERTH: "an obtaining of all" (A. Berriedale KERTH, Rig-veda Brahmanas, Harvard 1920, p. 324).



he does not marry her, . . . for so long he is incomplete.<sup>5</sup> This observation is made in connection with the ritual mounting of the sacrificial post during the Vājapeya: in performing this rite the sacrificer attempts, for himself and his wife, to reach the sun:<sup>6</sup> in ascending the sacrificer pronounces the words: *sarva etāṃ gatiṃ gacchāmi* "complete I want to go to that (supreme) goal." Here man obviously endeavours to reach the high goal of union with the light of heaven in the same state of wholeness and completeness in which he tries to preserve his body while living on the earth. Another interesting passage illustrating the same thought is J. Up. Br. 3, 3, 5 "whoso thus knows this self of the uktha firmly established in the self, comes into being in yonder world with limbs, with a body, whole": *sāṅgas satanus sarvas sambhavati*.

In my opinion, the compound in AthV. 14, 2, 6, which according to Monier-Williams, in his dictionary, means "consisting of or relating to or accompanied by or leading all men or heroes", and according to Whitney-Lanman "having all heroes", rather expresses the idea of "with complete, saved men (heroic sons)", i.e., "with the full number of them safe and sound": *sā . . . rayiṃ dāhi sārvaṅgam* "do you give wealth etc." The same expression, which would correspond to the Latin *salvis viris*, occurs AthV. 7, 9, 2 (where Whitney-Lanman give: "preserving heroes"): this verse which is, without variation, the same as RV. 10, 17, 5 (where GELDER translates: "whose men are complete" ("völlzählig")) asks Pūṣan for safety and well-being: *sō asmāṃ ābhayaṭamena neṣat svastidā . . . sārvaṅgaḥ . . .*; 3, 20, 8 "do thou (Agni) accord us wealth and make our men (heroic sons) to be in a safe and sound condition"; KERTH, who translated the partly identical stanza Taitt. S. 1, 7, 10 c: ". . . wealth with all heroes", added the following note: "*sārvaṅgam* may mean "with all (i.e., abundant) heroes (i.e., heroic offspring)", or possibly "with heroes unharmed";<sup>7</sup> AthV. 7, 8, 1 where WHITNEY-LANMAN, though translating: "with all his heroes" adds the note: "literally . . . "having his heroes whole"; KERTH translates the corresponding line Taitt. S. 1, 2, 3 n by ". . . with all thy strength" (*sārvaṅgaḥ*); 18, 3, 14; 19, 49, 6 with the compound *saravedas* of similar sense: "with our possessions unharmed, in the uninjured possession of our property"; 3, 12, 1 . . . *sārvaṅgaḥ svīrā āṛiṣṭavīrāḥ*.

The same compound which is of considerable frequency in the ancient documents—the Petrograd Dictionary taking it to mean "consisting of all

5. For this passage see also my 'Reflections on the numerals "one" and "two" in ancient Indo-European languages', Utrecht 1953, p. 31.

6. The reader may consult e.g. A. B. KERTH, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Harvard 1925, p. 339.

7. A. B. KERTH, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Harvard 1914, p. 109.



men, accompanied by all men" and "vollzählig" (i.e., with no one lacking) everywhere—was, as it would appear to me, not correctly translated by GELDNER in RV. 9, 90, 3 *śura-grāmaḥ sārva-vīraḥ sahāvān jēnā* (not "with just men, with nothing but men"): it belongs to the very ideal of a conqueror to return with unhurt soldiers. Similarly: 6, 23, 4; 3, 62, 3; 2, 30, 11. With his interpretation of 1, 51, 15 ("mit heilen Mannen"); 105, 19 I can agree.

In Atharvaveda 6, 3, 3 Tvaṣṭar is invoked to make the persons on whose behalf the prayer is recited, prosper unto "completeness", i.e. "preservation, salvation, sound condition, unimpaired strength and faculties": *vardhāya sarvātātaye*. This concept is not foreign to the Ṛgveda: 3, 54, 11 Savitar is requested to procure *sarvātāti*:- *ād asmābhyam ā suva sarvātātim*. In contradistinction to Sāyana's interpretation *sarvam apekṣitam phalam*, GELDNER<sup>8</sup> translating the term by "Vollzähligkeit" ("completeness"), explained it as either the complete number of sons (cf. *sārva-vīra*-) or the full lifetime. In view of the existence of the compound *sārva-vīra*- the former assumption is, however, not very convincing. In 10, 36, 14 the same scholar rendered a similar line, to wit: *savitā naḥ suvatu sarvātātim savitā no rāsātām dīrghām āyuh* in a more satisfactory way: "Savitar must procure us perfection ("Vollkommenheit"), Savitar must give us a long lifetime". Here Sāyana preferred: *sarvam abhilāṣitam dhanādikam*. A difficult passage, occurring in 10, 100, 1-11, is *ā sarvātātim āditiṃ vṛṇīmahe*. GELDNER,<sup>9</sup> discussing the construction of this short sentence, arrives at the conclusion that LUDWIG's interpretation, according to which *āditiṃ* is an abstract noun, should not be rejected. That means that, contrary to the translation presented in GELDNER's text: "we desire (entreat) perfection from Aditi" ("Wir erbitten Vollkommenheit von der Aditi"), the sense of the line would be "we desire salvation, guiltlessness" ("... um Heil, um Schuldlosigkeit"). There is, however, a third possibility, which might be considered on account of the order of words: Aditi defines, explains, or qualifies *sarvātāti*-. If, as seems probable, the name Aditi comes from *dā*-, *dyāti* "to bind", the meaning "being loose, freedom", proposed by OLDENBERG,<sup>10</sup> must in all probability be preferred to "limitless, unlimited, undividedness, immensity etc."<sup>11</sup> The 'goddess' represents, inter alia, the place of universal creation which must continually be protected from obstruction and narrowness; there can be no doubt that she is concerned with

8. K. GELDNER, *Der Rīg-veda übersetzt*<sup>2</sup>, I, Harvard 1951, p. 398.

9. GELDNER, o.c.—III, p. 313.

10. H. OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*<sup>3</sup>, p. 202 f.

11. It may be recalled to memory that in the ancient Indo-European languages many words beginning with the privative prefix can better be translated by the positive contrary term. For examples see J. WACKERNAGEL, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, II, Basel 1928, p. 284.



width, broadness and extension, with generation and motherhood.<sup>12</sup> Nor is it problematic that the idea expressed by the term *aditi-* (or, if this might be preferred, *Aditi*) is no abstract concept in the traditional sense of the word, but one of those many potencies, or power-substances, which empirically, or within some form of experience, were supposed to be present in persons, objects, and phenomena, and by virtue of which these are influential, effective, endowed with something which is beyond the bounds of understandable common experience.

In RV. 1, 106, 2 it is the *Ādityas* who are invoked: *ā gaṁ sarvātātaye* "approach in order to (confer) *sarvātāti-* (a safe and sound condition or something to that effect) on us". This means, *Sāyaṇa* observes, *sarvair vīrapuruṣais tatāya vistāritāya yuddhāya; yuddhe 'smākaṁ sādāyāṁ kartum ity arthah*, an explication which is open to question. The same words recur in 10, 35, 11; the gods addressed are, again, the *Ādityas*. *GELDER*, in his translation of the *R̥gveda*, while rendering the former passage: "O *Ādityas* approach that we remain uninjured" ("dass wir heil bleiben!"), takes 10, 35, 11 to mean "for the sake of completeness" ("zur Vollzähligkeit").

Of special interest are those passages in which the term under discussion combines with *suasti-*, which literally means "well-being, fortune, prosperity". RV. 9, 96, 4 *Soma* is addressed as follows: *ājīṭayē 'hataye pasava svastāye sarvātātaye brhatē* which means: "flow off clearly in order to come off alive and victorious, in order to secure well-being and 'completeness' (a safe and sound condition)". It may be noticed that in the *Atharvaveda* (14, 2, 72) the word *brhat-*, an adequate English equivalent of which is very difficult to find, combines with *vājasāti-* "the winning of *vāja-*, i.e., "a power or potency manifesting in animal and vegetable life, in strength and the capacity to live, to grow, to last in vigour". Whereas *WHITNEY-LANMAN*, very questionably, considered *brhat-* to be a substantive: "... in order to what is great, to winning of strength", *GELDER* may be correct in regarding it an adjective qualifying *sarvātāti-* (RV. 9, 96, 4). RV. 9, 15, 2 the same *brhat-* qualifies another word in *-tāti-*, to wit *devātāti-*. If I was, in another publication, right in considering *brhat-* to mean something like "firm, solid, intrinsically powerful, reliable (and hence also great, firm, high, vigorous etc.)"<sup>13</sup> the passage under

12. I refer to my book 'Aspects of early Viṣṇuism', Utrecht 1945, p. 72; 115 ff.

13. I may refer to my 'Notes on brahman', Utrecht 1950, p. 31 ff; and esp. p. 35 f. The adjective *brhat-* could also express such ideas of intrinsic and coextensive, potent and incomprehensible "firmness", "solidity" and "reliability" as may be considered a more definite description of the nature and limits of those potencies which are often called "gods" and which are representatives of energetic, but incomprehensible or at least *suprahuman* power.



consideration shows, first that *sarvātāti-* could be qualified by the same adjective as *devātāti-* and *vājasāti-*, and in the second place that it could be called "firm, reliable, intrinsically powerful",<sup>14</sup>

The above combination also occurs RV. 6, 15, 18 (addressed to Agni) *jāniṣvā devāvitaye sarvātātā suastāye* "be born in order to afford enjoyment to the gods on account of a safe and sound condition,<sup>15</sup> in order to well-being"; 6, 56, 6 (addressed to Pūṣan)<sup>16</sup> *ā te suastīm imaha āréaghām śpāvasum / adyā ca sarvātātaye śvāś ca sarvātātaye* "we approach thee with the request for well-being from which evil is far, and which procures good things, in order to (obtain) a safe and sound condition today and tomorrow". Here it appears that "well-being", absence of evil, and the possession of *vasu-* "good things, goods, property" are essential constituents of the concept called *sarvātāti-*. In 1, 94, 15 *anāgāstvām* "sinlessness" or rather "purity, virtue," if the form *sarvātātā* is a locative of motive, seems to belong to the same category: *yāmai tvām suhravino dādāśo... 'anāgāstvām adite sarvātātā* "to whom Thou (Agni), who art in possession of splendid treasures, Aditi,<sup>17</sup> grantest (ritual and moral) purity with a view to (in order to obtain) a safe and sound condition". If this be the correct translation, the *sarvātāti-* is the higher end, the object on account of which other advantages are wished for. A similar passage is 3, 54, 19: *devānām dūtāh... ānāgān no vocatu sarvātātā* "the messenger of the gods... must declare us to be 'sinless' (pure) with a view to a safe and sound condition." GELDNER, however, translated *sarvātātā* by "to the full extent" ("in vollem Masse"), and in 5, 69, 3 by "completely": *prātār devīm āditīm johaṣṣmi madhyāmdina ūditā sūryasya | rāyē mitrāvaruṇā sarvātātāre tokāya tānayaṇya śam yōh* "in the morning and at noon, when the sun rises,<sup>18</sup> I invoke the goddess Aditi for wealth, O Mitra and Varuṇa,

14. It remains to add that most other words in *-tāti-* express ideas belonging to the same semantic sphere: *ariṣṭatāti-* "safety, security"; *apākṣmatāti-* "health"; *dakṣatāti-* "ability" (joining, in AV. 8, 1, 6 *jiodtu-* "length of life"); *jyeṣṭhatāti-* "superiority"; *śāntatāti-* (together with *ariṣṭatāti-*, RV. 10, 137, 4) "happiness, welfare"; *astatāti-* "home, (i.e. the condition of being safe and having a fixed place of rest)", etc. This group, like some analogical forms of later date, may be made an argument in favour of the supposition that *sarvātāti-* (which with *ariṣṭatāti-* is the most frequent) denoted "a condition of completeness or wholeness" rather than "the whole number". The opposite sense of *grbhūtātāti-* "captivity" is easily intelligible.

15. I would prefer to regard this form as a *nimittasaptamī* rather than Geldner's "in Vollständigkeit" ("completely"). Cf. e.g. RV. 6, 19, 12.

16. For Pūṣan see S. D. ARKINS, Pūṣan in the Rīg-veda, Princeton 1941.

17. See above, and GELDNER, o.c., I<sup>2</sup>, p. 123.

18. See GELDNER o.c., II, p. 76. For the meaning of the form see also GRASSMANN'S Dictionary, 1490, s.v. *sarvātāt-*.



with a view to *sarvātāti*-; I implore (her) for welfare and happiness for the benefit of my children and offspring." If, again, I am not mistaken in my interpretation of the locative, "wealth" (or at least a sufficiency of goods) is an important element of the safe and sound condition which appears to be often present to the mind of these poets as an ideal of happiness.

In 6, 12, 2 Agni is addressed as follows: *ā yāsmīn yajatra yāksad rājan sarvātāteva nū dyaūh* "(thou) . . . in whom, O thou that art worthy of worship, heaven also (I am sure) worships so to say with a view to *sarvātāti*-, O king" (GELDNER again translates by "completely").<sup>19</sup> GELDNER is no doubt right in identifying "heaven" with its denizens; cf. also 6, 2, 4. Here it is taken for granted that the attainment of the condition denoted by the term under consideration belongs also to the objects of which the gods are eagerly desirous. There seems to be more uncertainty in the interpretation of this term in another passage (10, 74, 3) in which it occurs in the *Rgvedasamhitā*. It would be tempting to read in it the conviction that the text composed by the poet is a means of securing the high good, going by the name of *sarvātāti*-, to the gods: *iyām eṣām amṛtānām gāḥ sarvātātā yé kṛpāyanta rātnam* "this thought (prayer) is, with a view to *sarvātāti*-, intended for the immortals, who long for a (that) treasure". Would it not be preferable to consider *ratna*- "gem, treasure" to refer to *sarvātāti*-, not (as is GELDNER's opinion) to the poet's composition? This word, which in documents dating from a later period occurs in connection with highly appreciated entities and concepts of very high rank—we may only recall the *ratanattaya* or triad of gems of the Buddhists—, can also in the *Rgveda* be an expression for very valuable acquisitions (see e.g. 2, 38, 1; 3, 8, 6; 27, 8; 56, 7). If this be the meaning of this line the tenor of the whole stanza may be considered to express the thought worded also in the well-known stanza in the *Bhagavadgītā* (3, 11): *devān bhāvayatūnena te devā bhāvayantu vaḥ | parasparam bhāvayantaḥ śreyāḥ param avāpsyatha*.

Of a more dubious character are three cases which as far as their outward appearance is concerned can be a sg. loc. of *sarvātāti*- as well as an instr. of *sarvātāt*.<sup>20</sup> The stanza RV. 7, 57, 7 *ā stutāso maruto viśva ūti āchā sūrin sarvātātā jigāta* can, it is true, be taken to mean: "Since you have been praised, O Maruts, come, all of you, towards the institutors of the sacrifices with (your) promoting favour with a view to a safe and sound condition (viz. on our part, for our benefit)". GELDNER, however, followed the Petro-

19. For the idea expressed in this line see RV. 10, 88, 7.

20. Now see J. WACKERNAGEL—A. DEBUNNEN, *Altindische Grammatik* II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 620.



grad Dictionary, which gave the sense of "together" ("in Gesamtheit, insgemein, alle zusammen") or "completely" ("vollzählig").<sup>21</sup> A similar interpretation, though possible: (*sarvātāti-* for the sake of those who were ill-treated by the victim or: with the intention of the furtherance of his own's *sarvātāti-*) is, however, by no means self-evident in the case of 7, 18, 19: *prātra bhedaṃ sarvātātā muṣāyat*. Here a translation "he (Indra) robbed "Bheda" by means of (through) his (own) *sarvātāt*" (GRASSMANN) might in any case be preferred to "robbed him completely" (GELDNER). Similar consideration might be devoted to 4, 26, 3 where Indra is described as boasting of his victory over Śambara: *aham páro... vj airaṃ náva sákāṃ navatīḥ śámbarasya / śatatamāṃ veśyaṃ sarvātātā* "I forced the ninety-nine strongholds of Śambara, as the hundredth their occupant(s)<sup>22</sup> with a view of (rather than: through?) my *sarvātāt-* (?)". Or should we subscribe to GELDNER's interpretation: for completeness' sake ("zur Vollständigkeit"), the hundredth being the person or object which by joining a group or number completes it.<sup>23</sup>

There are other words in which this function of *sarva-* may be still apparent. Can RV. 8, 31, 11, where some divine powers are invoked: *aītu pūṣā rayīr bhágaḥ svastī sarvadhātamaḥ | urúr ádhvā svastáye* in view of the afore-mentioned combination of *svasti* and *sarvātāti-* have meant: "Pūṣan must come, Wealth, Bhaga who more than others gives well-being and what is "whole" (i.e. a safe and sound condition), the broad road towards well-being"?<sup>24</sup> We cannot help being reminded of the Avestan phrase *haurva dā* "to make whole, complete, perfect, to bring to a state of completion", cf. e.g. Nirangistān 37 *yaḥā kaḥa-ča dahmā staōta yesnya haurva deḥāti* "in which-ever manner a real member of the Zoroastrian community brings to completion the hymns of praise which belongs to the sacrifice".<sup>25</sup>

Hence also the frequent occurrence of *sarva-* in combination with words which express an aspect of totality or denote a concept which is considered to be complete. As pointed out earlier *sarvam āyuh* means "a full

21. It is also worth mentioning that REXOU, while translating *sarvātātā* by "with plenitude, abundance" ("avec plénitude"), is of the opinion that *-tāt-* is the instrumental of *-tā-* rather than the locative of *-tā-* (L. REXOU, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, Paris 1952, p. 219 and 172). GRASSMANN at the time translated *sarvātāt-* by "a perfect or complete nature, perfect vigour, complete blessing" ("vollkommenes Wesen, Kraftfülle, Segensfülle", *Wörterbuch*, 1490).

22. I refer to GELDNER, o.c., I<sup>2</sup>, p. 454.

23. Sāyana: *sarvātātā sarvātātāu pajāe*; similarly, 7, 57, 7; but 7, 18, 9 *sarvātātāu yuddhe ca*.

24. Accordingly, GRASSMANN translated: "giving welfare (good), refreshing" ("Heil schenkend, erquickend"). For the construction see GELDNER, o.c., II, p. 342.

25. A. WAAG, *Nirangistan*, Leipzig 1941, p. 55 f.



lifetime": see e.g. ŚatBr. 2, 1, 3, 4 *apahatapāpmāno devā apa pāpmānam hate mṛtā devā nāmṛtatvasyāsūsti sarvaṁ āyur eti yas...*; JUp. Br. 1, 37, 7 etc. etc.

The well-known phrase *idaṁ sarvaṁ* "this all" i.e. "the (complete) universe" occurs already in the Rgvedasamhitā: 8, 58, 2 (= Vāl. 10, 2), *ēkaivopāḥ sarvaṁ idāṁ vī bhāty ēkaṁ vā idāṁ vī babhūva sarvaṁ*; JUp. Br. 1, 7, 1; 25, 2; 41, 1, etc. ŚatBr. 6, 1, 3, 11 *adbhīyo hiḍaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate*. RV. 1, 39, 5 the Maruts are described as having advanced *sārvayā viśā*, i.e., "with their complete community" (cf. also 5, 26, 9; 8, 28, 3). According to the Śatapathabrāhmana (7, 5, 1, 34; 9, 5, 1, 63) Agni, the fire, if not carried about for a year (which is a representative of completeness) is not complete (*asarva*).

Like other words of similar sense *sarva*- developed the meanings of "all, every". In connection with words indicating a mass or collectivity "whole, complete", meaning "including or concerning every part" becomes "all": *sārvam bhōjanam* (RV. 1, 83, 4) "the whole quantity of food" meant "all the articles of food"; *sārvayā viśā* "with the complete clan" (1, 39, 5): "with all the members of the clan". In popular German usage *die ganzen Menschen* "the complete men" is in a similar way sometimes heard, to express "all men".<sup>26</sup> Such expressions as *die ganzen Häuser* "all the houses", *die ganzen Einwohner* "all the inhabitants" were modelled upon *die ganze Stadt* "the whole town", *die ganze Schule* "the whole school". In becoming a word for "all, every" *sarva*- encroached upon the domain of the adjective *viśva*- which in this sense must have been more original (it is closely related to Balto-Slavonic words for similar ideas).<sup>27</sup> The pronominal flexion, adopted by *sarva*- in Ancient Indian, must be regarded as resulting from its younger function.

So the word *sarvaṁ* can very significantly be used in such a way as to suggest a sense opposite to illness and death. In a stanza which with slight verbal variation is quoted in the Chānd. Up. 7, 26, 2 and the MaitrīUp. 7, 11, 6 it reads: *na paśyo mṛtyuṁ paśyati, na rogaṁ nota duḥkhatām | sarvaṁ ha paśyaḥ paśyati, sarvaṁ āpnoti sarvaśaḥ* "he who (truly) sees does not see

26. The reader might be referred to K. BEUTMANN, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität in den indogermanischen Sprachen*, Univ. Leipzig 1893-4; esp. p. 22, 34 ff.; 43 ff.; C. D. BURY, *A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages*, Chicago 1949, p. 918f; see also E. SAPIR, *Totality Language Monographs*, VI, Baltimore 1930, where the differences between various terms for totality are discussed from a 'structural' point of view.

27. See also A. DREYER and J. WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik III*, Göttingen 1930, p. 581.



death, nor illness, nor any distress; he who (truly) sees sees the All (i.e., wholeness, completeness, integrity), he reaches (obtains) the All (wholeness etc.) in all respects (entirely)".<sup>28</sup> In contradistinction to distress, illness and death *sarvam* must be a condition in which man is safe and uninjured; in which one has overcome death and reached "life eternal".

It is therefore not surprising to read that by acquiring the insight into the essence of Brahman, or more briefly, by the knowledge of Brahman (*brahmavidyā*) man becomes "All": Br. Ār. Up. 1, 4, 9 *tad āhuḥ, yad brahmavidyayā sarvam bhaviṣyanto manuṣyā manyante, kim u tad brahmāved yasmāt tat sarvam abhavat iti* "They say, since men think that by the knowledge of Brahman, they become "All", what then was it that Brahman knew by which it became "All" ?" And the answer simply is (10) : *brahma vā idam agra āsit, tad ātmānam evāved, aham brahmāsmīti; tasmāt tat sarvam, abhavat* "Brahman, indeed, was this in the beginning. It knew only itself : "I am Brahman". Therefore it became "All". And the author adds that whoever of the gods, seers, or men became awakened to this, he indeed became that. "Whoever knows "I am Brahman", becomes this "All" ": *sa idam sarvam bhavati*. And in the same upaniṣad, 2, 5, 10, the Self, the "Immortal", the Brahman, the "All" are expressly identified : *yaś cāyam asminn ākāśe tejomayo 'mṛtamayaḥ puruṣo, yaś cāyam adhyātmam hr̥dyākāśas tejomayo 'mṛtamayaḥ puruṣo, ayam eva sa yo 'yam ātmā, idam amṛtam, idam brahma, idam sarvam* "this brilliant person which not being subject to death is in this space, and with reference to the individual, this brilliant person who is not subject to death and who is in the space in the heart, he is just this Self, this existence which is not subject to death, he is Brahman, he is Whole". And being "whole" means being "safe".<sup>29</sup>

The identification of Brahman and *sarvam* is indeed frequently taught : Chānd. Up. 3, 14, 1 *sarvam icchalv idam brahma* "verily, this whole (the universe) is Brahman"; MaitrīUp. 4, 6. Cf. also ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 42 *sarvam u brahma prajāpatiḥ*.<sup>30</sup> Now the question arises what sense was attributed to *sarvam* by those who first identified Brahman with it. Professor KUMARAPPA<sup>31</sup> was of the opinion that those who straightway identified Brahman

28. I fear that I cannot subscribe to Professor RADHAKRISHNAN's translation: "he sees everything" (Sri S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *The Principal Upanishads*, London 1953, p. 499).

29. "There is a security... in making the Whole one's "pearl of great price" (R. W. BROWNING, in *The Philosophy of S. Radhakrishnan*, New York 1952, p. 258).

30. J. Up. Br. I, 46, 2 *sarvam* ... like *bhadrām* "bliss", *samāptiḥ* "attainment", etc., belongs to the sixteen aspects of *Prajāpati* (lit. to the sixteen parts into which he divided himself). *Prajāpati* is *sarvam* (Kaus. Br. 6, 15; 25, 12).

31. Bharatan KUMARAPPA, *The Hindu Conception of the Deity*, London 1934, p. 39 f.



with "everything in the universe", while prompted by a great zeal for the truth that Brahman is the unity which explains all this diversity, proceeded rather indiscriminately. Exulting in their discovery that nothing can exist without Brahman—was it not such a unitary principle which they so passionately sought after?—they too inconsiderately proclaimed: "lo, here, all is Brahman". "But this wholesale predication of everything found in the universe as being of Brahman, if it was intended seriously, and not merely in an exaggerated way to refer to the all-pervading power of Brahman, could not continue for very long, for a little reflection suffices to show that if Brahman is everything all over again, He is not the unity which philosophers were seeking. That which explains everything cannot be the same as everything. Accordingly philosophers were not long in perceiving that Brahman must be very different in character from the "universe". It may therefore be a tempting supposition to hold the original value of the predication *sarvam khalv idam brahma* to have been, not "Brahman is everything here", but "Brahman is the complete here, this whole (one)", or: "Brahman is what is the whole, complete here, is what is entire, perfect, with no part lacking, what is safe and well etc., i.e. Completeness, Totality, the All seen as the Whole". It then was only a re-interpretation of *sarva-* in accordance with the semantic development of this word which leads to the untenable conclusion noticed by KUMARAPPA. Needless to argue that *sarvam* in this sense goes very well with the well-known "identifications" of Brahman with *amṛta-* (e.g. *MaitrīUp.* 4, 6) and *akṣara-* "the imperishable, immutable, unalterable"<sup>32</sup> and with the conviction that Brahman is pure, free from evil, perfect, that it is truth, an indistinguishable unity, that "it transcends hunger and thirst, sorrow and delusion, old age and death" (*B. ār. Up.* 3, 5, 1; cf. *Chānd. Up.* 8, 1, 5; 7, 1). The *sarvam* is also *akṣayyam* "undecaying" (*Sat. Br.* 1, 6, 1, 19).

A knowledge of the original sense of *sarva-* may, in my opinion, also be of some help to a better understanding of the implications of the term *sarvajña-* "omniscient". According to the definition given in Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtras*, 3, 49, a *sarvajñātī-* i.e., "a man who is 'omniscient'" is: he who has only the full discernment of the difference between the *sattva* and the Self; such a man has authority over all states of existence. "Being one who knows all", the *Yogabhāṣya* observes, "refers to the intuitive knowledge, produced by discrimination and rising instantaneously into consciousness, of the aspects (*guṇa*) which are the essence of all, whether they be quiescent or uprisen or indeterminable. It is this perfection that is termed the "undistressed", by

32. For *akṣara-* see P. M. Mout, *Akṣara*, a forgotten chapter in the history of Indian Philosophy, Thesis Kiel 1931 (Baroda 1932). The epic and purāṇic texts never tire of repeating that *brahma* is *akṣaram*; the latter term was already in the oldest prose upanishads a designation for the highest metaphysical principle.



attaining to which the yogin "who knows all", whose hindrances and bondages have dwindled, takes his recreation as having mastery". It is evident that this omniscience is not a mere knowledge of an infinite diversity of objects and phenomena<sup>33</sup>, though this ability may easily be considered a natural consequence of it. Elsewhere (on Pat. Y.S. 1, 25) the same commentary furnishes us with the explication that the omniscient is he in whom the germ of omniscience—i.e., the process of knowing the supersensuous—as it increases progressively reaches its utmost excellence. He in whom this limit of thinking is reached is the omniscient and He is a special kind of Self. "The intuitive knowledge proceeding from discrimination", Patañjali teaches (Y.S. 3, 54), is *sarvaviṣayam* and has all times for its object; it is an inclusive whole without sequence".<sup>34</sup> This means, according to the same commentary, that there is nothing that is not its object, and that it has intuitive knowledge at all times of one whole (*sarvam*); besides, that it grasps one whole. As is well known, Brahma is *sarvajña*- and so are the Buddha and the Arhants of the Jains.

It is interesting to notice that the oldest text showing the term *sarvajña*-, Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 1, 9, uses it in connection with *jñānamayaṁ tapaḥ* "austerity consisting of the higher knowledge", i.e. "the intuitive insight into the difference between the ātman and the phenomenal world which leads to final deliverance": *yaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvavid yasya jñānamayaṁ tapaḥ tasmād etad brahma nāmarūpam annaṁ ca jāyate* "from him who is "omniscient", who is "all-knowing", whose austerity consists of *jñāna*-, the Brahma here, individuality, and food derive their existence", that is to say: the One who (which) is "knowledge" transforms himself (itself) into objects: by this process creation takes place. In relation to the uncreated universe *sarvajña*- must mean "knowing the totality".<sup>35</sup> Between the One and the many there is a relation of genetic dependence and existential contrast. In each of the many the transcendent unity is potentially latent, and by inversion of functionality it can be actualized as *sarvajñatva*-, i.e., (transcendent) consciousness of the Whole, of the All, in which the particular consciousness is annihilated.

A similar relation between the *Sarvam*, the Whole and the condition of being liberated, seems to be mystically expressed in AthV. 9, 7, 24 where

33. This is not to deny that it involved, or easily developed into, a universal knowledge of this kind. Compare also the descriptions given of the omniscience or *kevala nāna* of the Jain emancipated (see e.g. W. SCHUBRING, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, p. 110). Interesting observations were also made by F. HEILER, *Der Gottes Begriff der Mystik*, in *Numen*, Intern. Review for the History of Religions, I, p. 170 f.—He rightly states that the All of the mystic is no chaos, but a cosmos.

34. See also J. H. WOODS, *The Yoga-system of Patañjali*, Harvard 1914, p. 294.

35. For the interpretation of this passage see also S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *o.c.* p. 674.



the ox, who is extolled in this 'hymn', is described as belonging to all the gods when being yoked, to be *Prejāpati* when yoked, and to be *sarvaṃ* when unyoked (or: released): *yujyāmāno vaiśvadevó yuktāḥ prajāpatiḥ vimuktaḥ sárvaṃ*.

It now remains briefly to examine the relatives of the Ancient-Indian *sarva-*. In Avestan, *haurva-* sometimes conveys the force of "whole, intact, unhurt, sound": Yasna 58, 6 *haurva-fšav-* "whose cattle is unhurt or safe". Of special interest is the substantive *haurvatāt-* (also *haurvāt-*)<sup>36</sup> which is usually taken to express the sense of "wholeness, completeness, perfect happiness or prosperity, welfare".<sup>37</sup> This "concept" is also "deified", that is to say: *haurvatāt-* occurs as a divine power. *Haurvatāt* is one of the Amerta Spentas<sup>38</sup> and as such in a significant manner often mentioned together with *Ameretatāt* or *Ameretāt* "immortality", or rather: "(possession of) full and unimpaired vitality, life".<sup>39</sup>

This pair, *Haurvatāt* and *Ameretatāt*,<sup>40</sup> are aspects of Ahura Mazdāh, the Supreme Being. Their essence, or at least a very important aspect of theirs, seems to be clearly indicated in Yt. 19, 96 where they are expected to conquer both famine and drought. To *Haurvatāt* the care of the life-giving waters was, indeed, entrusted.<sup>41</sup> By his perfect union with *Haurvatāt*, *Ameretatāt*, and other powers, Ahura Mazdāh is able to recompense his devotees (cf. Y. 31, 21). In Y. 51, 7 Ahura Mazdāh is requested to give these two powers to men; and the phrase expressing these is followed by *tavišāi utayūfi* "force, and bodily welfare, well-being and endurance (longevity)";

36. Haplogy: see H. REICHEL, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1909, p. 79.

37. BARTHOLOMAE already noticed that these "meanings" cannot always be exactly distinguished one from the other (Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, 1792).

38. See my paper 'Origin and meaning of Avestan *spGnta-*', *Oriens II*, p. 195 ff.; cf. also H. LOMMEL, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen 1930, p. 30.

39. H. LOMMEL, *Die Yašta des Awesta*, Göttingen-Leipzig 1927, p. 77 (Yašt 10, 92) gave this pair of divinities the German names of "Heilssein und Nichttötsein"; J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Zoroastre*, Paris 1948 (Y. 44, 17; 45, 5) the French names "Intégrité et Immortalité"; H. S. NYRÉN, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, p. 140 ff: "Gesundheit" ("Health") und "Unsterblichkeit" ("Immortality"); A. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, p. 32: "l'Intégrité ou la Santé ("Health") et le Non-mourir", the same in *Die Iranier* (L. v. MÜLLER's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*), München 1933, p. 222 "Wohlfahrt, Heil" and "Nichtsterben"; E. HERRMANN, *Zoroaster*, Princeton 1947, p. 356 ff: "integrity of body", "blessed life on earth" and "eternal life".

40. No conclusion can be drawn from the usual order of the dvandva *haurvatāt-ameretatāt*, the shortest component tending to keep the first place. See Pāṇini 2, 2, 34.

41. BENVENISTE's supposition that the dvandva is a "mythical projection" of water-and-plants need not detain us here (E. BENVENISTE, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, 8, p. 465).



the latter pair is generally and rightly regarded as referring to two other "power-substances".<sup>42</sup> In Y. 33, 8 it is Haurvatāt and Ameretāt themselves who are implored to accord well-being, bodily welfare and perpetuity of life (*utayūti-*) to man.<sup>43</sup> So, it would be difficult to deny that Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are closely connected with food, endurance, and perpetuity of life. In Y. 34, 11 they are even explicitly stated to be, or to serve as, food. Besides there is, as far as appears from the documents which are preserved to us, a correspondence between Haurvatāt and the above *utayūti*.<sup>44</sup> The conclusion seems to be warranted that this 'concept' and 'divinity' represents bodily welfare, the enjoyment of perfect health and of full strength and vigour based on and resulting from a disposal of the life-giving water. It is not surprising to find that the term can directly apply to water (e.g., Y. 8, 1, where *amere-tāta* represents its complement, the plants), and as a divinity is the "lord of waters". For "health, soundness, continuance of a safe and sound condition" the Avesta uses *drvatāt-* (often in combination with *tanū-* "body"); the word *drva* "firm, healthy, sound" is identical with the Skt. *dhruva-* "fixed, immovable, permanent, lasting, eternal".

So the conclusion might be that the idea of "completeness" was of considerable consequence in the ancient Indo-Iranian culture. This "completeness" appears as bodily integrity, as preservation of perfect health, as an unimpaired condition in a more general sense. It was not, or not merely, a natural desire of man in daily life, it played an important rôle among the objects pursued in religion; it even was a highly desirable condition or a 'potency' of rank.

The etymologic connection of *sarva-* and *haurva-* shows that the idea conveyed by these words: "being whole, i.e., being complete, intact, in a sound condition", was already known at an earlier period; besides, that it was the more "original" sense of the Indo-European *solvo-s* to which they must go back. The latter part of this conclusion is not new, but the importance of the etymology: AInd. *sarva-*: Lat. *salvus*: Gr. *σῶλος* (*hólos*) etc. from the point of view of the history of civilization has, as far as I am able to see, not been duly recognized by my predecessors. In Latin, *salvus* means "well-preserved, whole, sound, healthy, well, unhurt, intact, uninjured, alive, safe". The poet Plautus gives a kind of definition: *Aulularia* 207 *salvum est si quid non perit* "it is safe, that is: if it is all there, if nothing is lost". We come across such phrases as *salvus et servatus* "well and safe"; *salvus et sospes* "well and unhurt"; *salvus et sanus* "safe and sound". The word is also ap-

42. Cf. also Y. 45, 10; 34, 11.

43. For a discussion of *utayūti* and *tayūti* see NYBERG, o.c., p. 140 ff.

44. I refer to NYBERG, l. c.



plied to lifeless objects, inter alia to law, justice, or conscience. In contradistinction to the Anc. Ind. *salvus*-, the Latin *salvus* did not develop into a pronominale.<sup>45</sup> This adjective is etymologically related to the Latin *salus* which denotes the condition of the person who is *salvus*, the safe and sound condition, health, welfare, well-being. As a divinity *Salus*<sup>46</sup> was identified with the Greek Hygieia, the goddess of health. Her cult must have been of considerable antiquity.<sup>47</sup> She represented not only "Health", but also "Public Welfare": as *Salus publica* she was the divine representative of the general public welfare. In this quality she is often mentioned together with Fortuna "Fortune", or Felicitas "Success, Happy Issue".<sup>48</sup> The substantive *salus*, however, also served to denote the idea of deliverance from death or ruin, also: safety, security. When opposed to "ruin, destruction, death" it could mean "life": *salutem debere alicui* means "to owe a person the preservation of one's life". The word, which survives in such well-known English terms as *salutary* (used in physical and moral sense), *salvage*, *salvation*, was also used in the sense of "welfare wished", i.e. "salutation, salute";<sup>49</sup> the imperative *salve* "be well", which was a general form of greeting can still be used: "Hail! God save you!"<sup>50</sup> The ancient *salus*, which often occurred in such contexts as may be considered "religious", was, under the influence of the Gr. *σῶς* (*sōs*) "safe and sound, alive and well; whole, intact" and its relatives adopted by the Christians to express the idea of "hail". From the derivative *salvare* they coined the new term *salvator* "Saviour", and *salvatio* "the act of saving" came to mean "redemption (in a spiritual sense), deliverance from sin and its effects (in the Christian sense of the word)", and also "the state of being saved": cf. such expressions as "In Christ is our salvation".

The Greek member of this family of words, the Homeric *ὅλος* (*ōlos*) and Attic *ὁλος* (*hōlos*), denoted, in a comparable way, the ideas of "whole,

45. The reader may for some particulars be referred to A. EMMOUT et A. MEHLER, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*<sup>3</sup>, Paris 1951, p. 1043 f.

46. See also A. MEHLER, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 28 (1928), p. 40 ff., who is no doubt right in considering the term a remainder of an ancient family of words of religious significance.

47. For particulars see G. WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*<sup>2</sup>, München 1912, p. 131 ff.

48. See H. WAGENVOORT, *Roman Dynamism*, Oxford 1947, p. 71.

49. In explanation of the Latin phrase *digitus salutaris* "forefinger" R. B. ONTANS, *The Origin of European Thought*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge 1954, p. 498, n. 1 supposes the original meaning of the Roman greeting by holding up the hand, perhaps the finger, towards another to have been a beneficent act, to wit the bestowal of life, the hand being a frequent means of transmitting the spirit or vital power. The verb *salutare* "to greet, salute" indeed originally meant "to give *salus* to a person."

50. There is no use in explaining *salve*, with R. THURSTEDSEN, *Kuhn's Zeitung* 28, p. 160, n. 2 as an original vocative of *salvus*.



entire, complete in all its parts", of persons as well as objects: in connection with bread it meant a "whole" loaf, with the moon: "full". Joining the word  $\text{ὑγιής}$  (*hugiēs*) "healthy" it must be translated by "safe and sound". As a substantive  $\text{τὸ ὅλον}$  (*to hólōn*) means "the universe", but this term differs from  $\text{τὸ πᾶν}$  (*to pān*) in that it implies a definite order. Whereas  $\text{ὅλος}$  (*ōlē*) was in use as a form of salutation "health to thee",  $\text{ὁλός}$  (*hólos*) could also stand for  $\text{πᾶς}$  (*pās*) "all" and "every". As a first member of compounds  $\text{ὁλο-}$  (*holo-*) means "completely, entirely" (before adjectives) or "whole" (before substantives). Space forbids to consider some of the compounds in detail. Two related words may however not be left unmentioned: the verb  $\text{ὁλοεῖται}$  (*holoētai*) which according to the lexicographer Hesychius means "to be sound or healthy" and  $\text{ἑλος}$  (*hélos*) which is explained by the same authority as  $\text{μόνος καὶ ὅλος}$  (*mónos kai hólōs*) "alone and whole".

That the idea of "whole" or "complete" in a more general sense was often expressed by words denoting also "sound, whole in body, unhurt, well" is a well-established fact.<sup>51</sup> What is important is that the relevant terms came to be used also in contexts bearing on "thought" and religion, in the philosophy of life or nature of the prehistoric and ancient peoples,—provinces of their culture which while coinciding with each other for a considerable part, cannot be separated from their daily life. Whereas—as might have been expected—the Romans gave the group of words apart from a "religious" also a political sense, and the Greeks used  $\text{τὸ ὅλον}$  (*to hólōn*) as a term for "the universe", the ancient Iranians made *Haurvatāt* one of the "energetically powerful Beings who are beyond the reach of Death" (*Amerta Spentas*), and who may be regarded as aspects of Ahura Mazda himself, the Indians, identifying *brāhman* and *sarvam*, choose this term for "intact, uninjured, entire, complete" to denote the Whole of Existence, the All, which in being eternally complete, is always free from decay, illness, and death. By realizing that he is *sarva-*, a man escapes death and its precursors.

The idea expressed by this word was, in the second place, combined with that denoted by the Ancient Indian *amṛtatva-* and its relatives in other languages, that is to say with that of "continuance of life". The harbingers of death, all that which is injurious to health, hurtful, and prejudicial to the interests of earthly life was considered "harm, injury, loss, diminution, incompleteness". This thought is reflected in the ancient languages. In the Veda,  $\text{mī-}$  (*mināsi* etc.) means on the one hand "to lessen, diminish" (*inter alia*:

51. See also C. D. Buck, *o.c.* p. 918f. The majority of words for "harm, injure" (and those for the corresponding nouns) were, as far as can be seen, originally applied to living beings, with reference to bodily injury, and secondarily applied to material objects: see Buck, *oc.* p. 760.



āyuh "a full lifetime, outward beauty etc."); "to violate, transgress" (law, ordinances etc.); the intransitive forms bear the force of "to decrease, perish, die". The etymological relatives show that the sense of "to reduce; to become smaller etc." must be regarded as "original". The verb *riṣ-* (*reṣati*, *riṣyati*, *riṣyate*) "to receive harm, suffer wrong, to be hurt or injured" —cf., e.g., RV. 1, 89; 9 *mā no madhyā rīṣatāyur gāntoh* "do no harm to our full lifetime (don't inflict loss on it) in the midst of our path (of life)" —can also mean "to be lost, to perish". The Vedic *myc-* (*marcāyati* etc.) "to hurt, injure" is related to the Avestan *mahrka* "destruction, death" and the N. Pers. *marg* "death". The Skt. *kṣan-* (*kṣayoti*) "to hurt, injure, wound" cannot be disconnected from the Greek *ἀποκτείνω* (*apoktēno*) "to kill". In a recent publication P. THIEME<sup>52</sup> attempted to show that the I.E. root *\*nek-* — which is represented, inter alia, by the Skt. *naśyati* "to be lost, perish, come to nothing etc." —properly referred to the decomposition of a dead body. Since those words which belonging to this root denote a corpse have no special reference to its decomposition—the Greek *νεκρός* (*nekrós*) means: "a dead body, a dying person; pl. the dwellers in the nether world; dead, inanimate"; *νεκος* (*nekus*) "corpse; pl. the spirits of the dead; dead"; the Avestan *našu* "corpse, part of a corpse; name of a corpse-witch"—, and since, on the other hand, most words belonging to this family refer to injuries or violence which may cause death, this supposition does not seem to be very plausible. In defending the old etymology of the Greek *νεκταρ* (*néktar*) "the nourishment of 'immortality'", proposed by J. GRIMM and PRELLWITZ—and recently endorsed by J. B. HOFMANN—THIEME is, however, probably right: the original force of this word seems to have been: "what saves from the destruction of death" (-tar: cf. the Ved. -tur "passing over, overcoming, rescuing, saving").

On the other hand, many words for "safe" primarily meant "whole, well, sound, unhurt", and part of them developed into expressions for "the state of being finally or permanently saved, salvation (in the religious sense)". The afore-mentioned Greek *σῶς* (*sōs*) "safe and well, alive and well" (of persons); "safe, whole, preserved, extant, intact" (of objects), "sure, certain" (of events)—hence also *σῶζω* (*sō'idzo*) etc. "to save from death, keep alive; preserve; observe (laws)", and *σῶτηρ* (*sōtēr*) "saviour, deliverer also of gods, rulers, and in the Christian usage of God"; *σῶτηρα* (*sōtēria*) "deliverance, a means or way of safety, safe return, salvation (Christian)", etc.—must be etymologically connected with the Vedic *tu-* *tautí*, *taṭīti* "to be strong, have power" and the Avestan *tu-* "to be able, have power", and *taṭīši* (see above). The Irish *slán* meant "well, in good health" and "safe". The Gothic *hails*

52. P. THIEME, Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, p. 11 ff.



"sound, whole, well, unhurt, complete"<sup>53</sup>—also serving as a salutation—which is related to Slavonic words for "whole, complete; to salute; health" is on the one hand identical with the Engl. *whole*, the Engl. *health* "state of bodily (or mental) well-being" and the Dutch *heel* "whole, entire, complete", and on the other with the Engl. *hail*, i.e., "be thou hail i.e., healthy, prosperous", the Dutch *heil* "welfare; good; salvation (of the soul)"—whence Dutch *heilig* "holy"—, and, moreover, with the Engl. *holy*, the last-mentioned word deriving from *heil*, cf. the above *heil* etc. in the sense of "in good health, sound, uninjured" and originally conveying the ideas of "uninjured, inviolate, representing well-being" (and hence) those of "pertaining to God or to saints, hallowed, sacred; divine etc." The likewise cognate O. Norse *heill* meant "a favourable omen" and "happiness, fortune". The German and Dutch derivative *Heiland* serves to translate the Latin *Salvator* "the Saviour"; interesting enough the medieval Dutch term was *ghesontmakere* "who makes healthy", healthy or whole being again considered the normal condition the endless continuance of which after death is eagerly desired. Words for "not injured" not infrequently adopt the sense of "safe": the Sanskrit *akṣata-* (e.g., *Manu* 8, 124); similarly, the Rumanian *nevătămat* "not injured" > "safe".

53. Cf. also H. HARTMANN "Heil" und "heilig" im nordischen Altertum, Heidelberg 1943.

# VEDICA

VON

A. DEBRUNNER, Bern

I. SIMONS *Kāthaka-Index*.

Für den RV. sind wir seit 1873 durch Hermann GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda (Leipzig; Neudrucke 1936 und 1955), für den AV. seit 1881 durch William Dwight WHITNEYS *Index verborum to the Published Text of the Atharva-Veda* (New York, London, Leipzig, Paris; = JAOS. 12) mit ausgezeichneten Hilfsmitteln versehen; der sprachgeschichtlich und inhaltlich weniger wichtige SV. hat durch Theodor BENFEY in dessen Ausgabe (Leipzig 1848) noch früher ein vollständiges Glossar erhalten. Demgegenüber sind der Weiße und der Schwarze YV. sehr stiefmütterlich behandelt worden. Obschon wir kritische Ausgaben der VS. (von Albrecht WEBER; Berlin und London 1852), der TS. (von demselben; Leipzig 1871 und 1872 = Indische Studien Band 11 und 12), der MS. (von Leopold von SCHROEDER; Leipzig 1881-1886) und des Kāthakam (von demselben; Leipzig 1900-1910) besitzen, steht uns nur vom letzten ein Index zur Verfügung: *Index verborum zu Leopold von SCHROEDER'S Kāthakam-Ausgabe von Richard SIMON* (Leipzig 1912).

Das ist deshalb besonders misslich, weil zwar der Wortschatz der VS. im grossen Petersburger Wörterbuch ausgiebig berücksichtigt und für die TS. wenigstens handschriftliches Material verwendet werden konnte, während für die MS. erst im ersten Band des kleinen Petersburger Wörterbuchs wenigstens die künftige Ausgabe erwähnt und im Fortgang der Arbeit Stellen eingearbeitet sind. Umso dankbarer sind wir für den Index von SIMON.

Allerdings ist hier der Brauchbarkeitsgrad der Werke von GRASSMANN und WHITNEY nicht erreicht. Dem Vorbild WHITNEYS entsprechend hätten (etwa durch ein Sternchen) diejenigen Wortformen gekennzeichnet werden sollen, die aus dem RV. oder AV. stammen; auch eine Unterscheidung zwischen den Opfersprüchen (Mantras) und dem übrigen Text (Brāhmaṇaprosā) wäre unbedingt nötig gewesen; und endlich hätte der Akzent da angegeben werden sollen, wo er handschriftlich überliefert ist. Nach dem Vorwort fallen diese Mängel dem Zettelmaterial zur Last, das Simon von L. von Schroeder



übernahm. Dasselbe gilt wohl auch von dem Fehlen der Seiten- und Zeilenzahlen der Ausgabe; diese hätten zwar den Umfang des Buchs etwa verdoppelt, aber dem Benutzer für alle Zeiten grösste Zeitverluste beim Suchen in den meist sehr langen Kapiteln erspart. Demgegenüber darf mit Dank festgestellt werden, dass Raghu Vira in seiner Erstausgabe der Kp. nicht nur die Opfersprüche (wenigstens da, wo sie in den Brähmanatext eingestreut sind) durch Kleindruck bezeichnet, sondern allgemein sogar die einzelnen Mantras und Sätze durch Punkte abgetrennt hat.

Volle Anerkennung verdient die Korrektheit des SIMON'schen Index. Wer je eine ähnliche Arbeit gemacht hat, weiss, dass auch der sorgfältigste Verfasser und Korrektor Fehler macht. Nur in diesem Sinn möchte ich die folgenden Verbesserungen verstanden wissen, die sich mir in jahrelanger Benützung ergeben haben.

S. 17 *abhīṣāṭ*: es fehlt *abhīṣāhyas* 39, 11 (128, 1).

S. 29: *āgneyyā* steht wie ein besonderes Wort da; es ist aber instrumental von *āgneyī*, das richtig unter *āgneya* verbucht ist; vgl. *āgneyī* und *āgneyyā* in derselben Zeile K. 8, 11 (94, 21).

S. 35 hätte *īṣhimikā* und *īṣhimikāyām* Band I 283, 5.3 und S. 56 *orimikā* und *orimikāyām* III 150, 15. 14 angeführt werden können (WACKERNAGEL KZ. 43, 294f., RENOY Festschrift Winternitz 27 Anm.; Ai. Gr. II 2, 354 § 226 a. βA.), obschon beides nur in der Unterschrift steht.

S. 38 fehlt *idaṃ-madhuram* 34, 5 (39, 14) = *idam-madhum* TS. 7, 5, 10, 1 "der Opferspruch *idaṃ madhu*". Vgl. KEITH zur TS. = Stelle, Ai. Gr. II 1, 325 § 123 a.

S. 57 *kanīnikā*: s. zu S. 137.

S. 59 fehlt *kilāsaṃbhāvāt* "vor dem Aussätzigwerden" 33, 4 (30, 8), das nicht als *kila-asambhāvāt* zu erklären ist. Oertel 2, 58 Anm. 2.

S. 94 b Zeilen 7f.: es fehlt *ādi* 16, 14 (237, 7); 20, 4 (21, 17), MS. 2, 7, 14 (95, 8); 3, 2, 5 (22, 2); = MSS. *ādam* VS. SB. Kp. 25, 5 (98, 13); 31, 6 (152, 21), *ā dade* TS. ApŚS. "ich habe an mich genommen" (OERTEL 1, 82). WACKERNAGEL Festgabe Jacobi 15 weist nach, dass statt *ādur* K. 35, 16 (61, 12) *āhur* zu lesen, *āttām* 18, 21 (281, 19) zu *ad-* "essen" zu stellen ist und das *ā* von *ā*, ...*dattam* 40, 3 (137, 8) zu *etu* gehört, nicht zu *dattam*.

S. 135 fehlt *pretyānas* 19, 12, (15, 13); vgl. Ai. Gr. II 2, 662 § 487 cA.

S. 135 Druckfehler *psātam* statt *psātam*.

S. 137 lies *bahiṣ kanīnike* (OERTEL 2, 59 Anm. 2).

S. 174 fehlt *pra-vāpayati* II, 2 (145, 17).



S. 201: statt *ṣaṣmāśas* 28, 2 (154, 11); 33, 7 (33, 7. 16) ist *ṣaṣ māsas* "sechs Monate (lang)" zu lesen (Sommer Münch. Abhandl. N. F. 27 (1948) 56 Anm. 2).

S. 205 unter *saṣ sâ*: *saṣemi* 13, 14 (196, 10) von *saṣ-* "gewinnen" wäre eine Unform. Der Vers *sâṣemī asmād yuyavann āmīvāḥ* stammt aus dem RV. (7, 38, 7d): "völlig sollen sie die Krankheiten von uns fernhalten!" Das Adverb *sâ-nemi* kommt im RV. auch sonst vor. Das Missverständnis von *saṣemi* ist wohl durch eine ungenaue Erinnerung an das ungewöhnliche *saṣem* des Mantra *ubhaṁ lokaṁ saṣem ahām* TB. 1, 2, 1, 15 und Parallelen verursacht (das korrekte *saṣēyam* im Mantra *saṣir asi* TS. K. u.s.w.).

S. 207b Zeile 3: mit *ṣamānā* 40, 7 ist offenbar *samānā* 40, 7 (141, 9) = RV. 4, 58, 8a gemeint; die Stelle ist unter *samana* nachzutragen.

S. 211 unter *sâ si*: *udavasāṇīyam* 29, 4 (173, 2) = Kp. 45, 5 (272, 7). ist als Verbalform unmöglich; es ist Adjektiv auf *-īya-* aus Bhp *ud-ava-sāna* "das Aufhören, Abschluss" (BR.) von AV. *ud-ava-sā-* "den Schluss machen".

## II. *agnidh-*

Ein Vorteil von SIMONS Index über das Kāthakam hinaus ist der, dass man von ihm aus neue Wörter und Formen in Parallelenstellen der andern Samhitās des YV. finden kann, seien es nun Mantras oder Brāhmanaprosa. So ergab sich mir bei der Neubearbeitung des ersten Bandes der Ai. Gr. neues Material für das Problem von *agnidh-* — *agnidh-*.

Ueber dieses Wort lehrt Wackernagel I 82 § 75c: ein Schwa ist geschwunden "in dem Wurzelsubstantiv v. *agnī-dh-* Priestertitel eigtl. "Feuersetzer" (vgl. v. *agnī-dhāna-* "Feuerstätte"), was von Samh. an zu *agnidh-* als Komp. mit *-idh-* "anzündend" umgeformt erscheint; schon v. die Ableitung *āgnidhra-*; im Wesentlichen gleich II 1, 98. 130. 219 § 42aA. 55f. 91e und MACDONELL 18 § 26, 2. Dagegen tritt OLDENBERG SBE. 46, 189 und Noten zu RV. 2, 1, 2 für die Ursprünglichkeit des langen *i* ein. Die Verfolgung der Stellen in SIMONS Index ergab vier Opfersprüche, die das Wort enthalten; dabei fand sich's, dass das K. jedesmal eindeutig den Nominativ *agnī* hatte im Gegensatz zum *agnī* der Paralleltexte, dass aber fast alle Stellen des K. in der Vedic Concordance von 1906 (und deshalb auch in den Vedic Variants II von 1932) fehlen; später sah ich, dass schon OERTEL, I, 57 und GGA. 1934, 190f. dieses Versehen bemerkt hat. Es sind die folgenden vier Mantras, die je zweimal im K. (und teilweise auch in der Kp.) stehen:

(*ācittapājā* oder *ācyutapājā agnī*) K. 9, 9 (112, 1) = *agnī* MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 11), TĀ. ŚSS. Kp. 8, 12 (89, 1); entsprechend K. 9, 12 (115, 3f.) = MS. 1, 9, 5 (135, 8).



(tvāṣṭā) *gnīt* K. 9, 8 (110, 14 = *-gnīt* MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 3), TĀ. ŚŚS. Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5); entsprechend K. 9, 11 (113, 5) = MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 4).

(rudrō) *'gnīt* K. 9, 8 (110, 18) = MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 7; *agnīt*), TĀ. ŚŚS. Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9); entsprechend K. 9, 11 (113, 8) = MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

(vijñātām) *agnīt* K. 9, 8 (110, 12f.) = *agnīt* MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 2), TĀ. ŚŚS. Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4); entsprechend K. 9, 11 (112, 11f.) (ohne Parallele).

Alle vier Mantras stehen in der VC., aber von den acht Kāthaka-Stellen fehlen sieben, und eine ist fehlerhaft (9, 8 statt 9, 9 [112, 1]); auch die beiden Stellen aus MS. 1, 9, 4 und die eine aus 1, 9, 5 fehlen (ebenso bei OERTEL 1, 57). Die sonstigen Mantrastellen mit *agnīt* (ausser den in der VS. mit diesem Wort beginnenden kenne ich nur VS. 7, 15 und Parallelen *āyñd agnīt*) kommen im K. (und wohl auch in der Kp.) nicht vor.

Auch in den Brāhmaprastellen kennt das K. nur *i* gegenüber *ī* der Paralleltex-te:

9, 15 (118, 9. 11) *agnīt* = MS. 1, 9, 8 (140, 1) *agnīdhe*, (140, 2) *agnīt*.  
28, 8 (163, 2. 4) *agnīt* = MS. 4, 7, 4 (97, 5. 5. 13), TS. 6, 5, 8, 5, Kp. 44, 8 (264, 6f. 8) *agnīt*.

Für *agnīt* führt SIMON eine einzige Stelle des K. an: 25, 5 (108, 15) *agnīst* = Kp. 39, 2 (214, 16); allein die Pluti kann auch einen kurzen Vokal betreffen (RANOU, Grammaire de la langue védique 76 § 93).

Das K. kennt also im Nominativ *agnīt* nur kurzes *i*, die Kp. nur langes *ī*.

Dasselbe gilt von den übrigen Kasus: *agnīdham* K. 26, 9 (133, 5.6) mit Kp. 41, 7 (243, 9. 11) gegen *agnīdham* MS. 3, 9, 8 (127, 1f.); *agnīdhe* K. 35, 18 (64, 13) mit Kp. 48, 16 (307, 8) gegen *agnīdhe* TB. 3, 7, 2, 6. Diesem Zusammengehen von Kp. mit K. würde es widersprechen, wenn *āgneyyāgnīdhe* Kp. 44, 4 (259, 14f.) richtig wäre; es ist aber nach K. 28, 4 (157, 14) in *āgneyyāgnīdhre* zu korrigieren entsprechend der Stelle *āgneyyāgnīdhre* Kp. 44, 4 (259, 4) = K. 28, 4 (157, 4).

Das K. und die Kp. kennen also ausserhalb des Nominativ Singularis nur *agnīdh-*.

DAS Gesamtbild der Belege für *agnīdh-* und *agnīdh-* gestaltet sich demnach schon jetzt reicher als zur Zeit der beiden Petersburger Wörterbücher. Es ist belegt:

#### *agnīdh-*

im RV. 2, 1, 2b = 10, 91, 10b *tāva neṣṭrōm tvām agnīd rīṣatāh*; 10, 41, 3b *agnīdham vā dhṛtādakṣaṃ dāmūnasam*. Beide Verse sind ohne sonstige

Parallele; im ersten wäre statt des *i* metrisch eine Länge sehr erwünscht, wenn auch nicht obligatorisch; im zweiten Vers ist die metrische Stelle quantitativ indifferent.

Sonst beschränkt sich *agnīdh-* ganz auf das K.:

8mal *agnīt* in Mantras gegen *agnīt* aller Parallelstellen,

4mal *agnīt* in Brāhmanaprosa gegen *agnīt* aller Parallelstellen,

1mal *agnīt* mit Pluti *agnīst*; ebenso Kp.

2mal *agnīdham* und 1mal *agnīdhe* mit Kp. gegen MS bzw. TB. *agnīdh-*.

Ausserhalb des RV. und des K. finden sich keine Spuren von *agnīdh-*.

#### *agnīdh-*

erscheint zuerst in einem Khila des RV. (5, 7, 5d, S. 148 Scheftelowitz; siehe unten), dann in dem oben erwähnten *āyāḍ agnīt* der VS. und sehr oft in den Saṃhitās des Schwarzen YV. und in der späteren Ritualliteratur (s. Vaidik. Samh. I 33b), in MS. auch *agnīdham* und *agnīdhah*, in TS. und MS. auch *agnīdhe* (über *agnīdhe* Kp. siehe oben; übrigens hat eine Handschrift der MS. 1, 4, 13 (63, 4.6) *agnīdham* bzw. *agnīdhe*). Der AV. kennt es nicht. Aus der grammatischen Literatur ist zu erwähnen, dass P. 8, 2, 92 *agnīt* im Text gebraucht und das Vārtt. 9 zu 4, 3, 120 in der Etymologisierung von *agnīdhra-* den Genitiv *agnīdhah* verwendet.

Es fragt sich nun, ob die seit der Kontroverse zwischen WACKERNAGEL und OLDENBERG bekannt gewordenen neuen Stellen etwas zur Entscheidung des gegenseitigen Verhältnisses zwischen *agnīdh-* und *agnīdh-* beitragen können.

Prüfen wir zunächst die beiden Etymologien je für sich. Am einfachsten und sichersten erklärt sich *agnīdh-* aus *\*agni-īdh-* "das Feuer anzündend". Vom Formalen aus bietet sich die Hilfe von v. *saṃ-īdh-* "Brennholz" (II 1, 176f. § 75f; II 2, 17 § 7c) und den Infinitiven v. *saṃ-īdham* und *saṃ-īdhe* und der geläufige Kompositionstypus v. *haviṛ-ād-* "Opferspeise essend" (Ai. Gr. II 2, 4 § 3a; II 1, 174f. § 75b). Syntaktisch ist im RV. *agnīm* das häufigste Objekt von (*saṃ*) *īdh-* "entzünden"; daher heisst es auch nach einem jüngeren Kompositionstypus RV. 1, 162, 5a *agnim-īdhā-* (II 1, 181 § 76 b8), das als Priestertitel neben dem *Hotṛ* und dem *Adhvaryu* steht wie in anderen Fällen, z.B. 2,1,2; der *agnīdh-* (WEBER Indische Studien 10, 141.376; OLDENBERG Die Religion des Veda, 3.4. Auflage 389); *agnimīdhā-* ist also geradezu ein Beweis dafür, dass jedenfalls der Verfasser des Hymnus 1,162 den Titel *agnīdh-* als *\*agni-īdh-* verstand!



Gestützt ist sodann *agnīdh-* durch die *Vṛddhi*-ableitung *āgnīdhra-*: RV. 2, 36, 4d = AV. 20, 67, 5d (fehlt in WHITKES Index!) *pibāgnīdhrāt tāva bhāgāsyā tṛṇaḥ* "trink aus dem Becher des Agnidh, erfreue dich an deinem Anteil". Dann folgt AV. 20, 2, 2a *agnīr āgnīdhrāt . . . ṛtūnā sōmaṃ pibatu* (vgl. Khila a. a. O. *hotā yajṣad agnim āgnīdhrād ṛtūnā somam pibatu agnīd yaja* und Ähnliches in der VC. 13b). Also ist *āgnīdhra-* zuerst substantiviertes Adjektiv "zum Agnidh- gehörig". Von den *Saṃhitās* des YV. an (s. Vaidik. Samh. I 33b-34a und Brāhm. I 180f.) ist es dann aber als Maskulinum Synonym für den Priestertitel *agnīdh-*, als Neutrum Bezeichnung des Amtes des *agnīdh-* und des (von diesem bedienten) Feueraltars. Davon wird abgeleitet *āgnīdhrīya-* TS. 6, 3, 1, 3 und oft in Brāhmaṇas (Vaidik. Brahm. I 181).

Das Adjektiv "zum *agnīdh-* gehörig" könnte nach Ai. Gr. II 2, 134 § 40a *\*āgnīdha-* heissen; das eingeschobene *r* reiht das Wort nachträglich in die Namen für Priesterämter wie v. *neṣṭrá-* *potrá-* aus v. *nēṣṭr-* *pótr-* ein (Ai. Gr. II 2, 858 § 686e und schon OLSENBERG zu RV. 2, 36, 4); der Akzent blieb aber erhalten und stimmte nachher zum spätern Typus *paūtra-* (Ai. Gr. II 2, 705 § 517b β).

WACKERNAGELS Ableitung von *agnīdh-* aus *\*agni-dh-* setzt voraus, dass der ursprüngliche Ablaut des Hinterglieds: *-dhā-* *-dhi-* (aus indog. *-dhē-*) *-dh-* (Schwund des *ē* vor Vokal) (Ai. Gr. II 2, 35 § 11d; III 125. 127f. § 65aa. β, b) zugunsten der schwächsten Form aufgegeben worden wäre; es wäre also K. *agnī-dh-e* Umakzentuierung von *\*agni-dh-ē* (vgl. v. *dhiyaṃ-dh-ē*), v. *agnī-dh-am* Umgestaltung von *\*agni-dhā-m* (vgl. v. *vayo-dhā-m*) und v. *agnī* Ersatz für *\*agni-dhā-h* (vgl. v. *dhiyaṃ-dhā-h*). Bedenklich an dieser Annahme ist, dass es meines Wissens kein zweites Beispiel einer derartigen Verallgemeinerung der tiefsten Stufe von Wurzelnomina auf *ā* gibt (während der Uebergang in *a-* Stämme sehr geläufig ist: II 2, 77ff. § 23a; III 126 § 65a β; so könnte schliesslich *agnī-dham* aus *\*agni-dh-ā-m* erklärt werden) und dass die Kasus mit lautgesetzlichem *-dh-* gegenüber denen mit *-dhā-* fast völlig verschwinden. Freilich hat auch die Mittelstufe *-dhi-*, obschon sie sehr selten gewesen sein wird, zu einer grossen Zahl von rein *i*-stämmigen Bildungen geführt (Ai. Gr. II 2, 24f. 299f. § 10b. 187b; III 130f. § 66b).

Syntaktisch bedeutet *agnīm dhā-* nach Grassmann 661 Nr. 6 "den Agni in den Häusern u.s.w. (L.) einsetzen oder aufrichten, auch ohne Lokativ." In der Tat sprechen unter den 14 Beispielen (wenn ich recht gezählt habe) 8 davon, dass *agni-* unter den Menschen (*mānuṣeṣu*, [*mānuṣeṣu*] *vikṣū* 1, 58, 6a; 1, 60, 4; 2, 4, 2b. 3a; 3, 5, 3a; 10, 46, 4d), im Haus (7, 7, 4c), auf der Erde (7, 5, 2a) eingesetzt wird, 2 davon, dass er zum Opfer bestellt wird



(3, 28, 3c; 4, 7, 1a); die übrigen sind ganz anders gestaltet. Auch *agnīdhānām*, auf das sich WACKERNAGEL beruft, ist nicht "Auflegen, Anlegen des Feuers", sondern "Feuerbehälter, Feuerstätte, Herd" (1. RV. 10, 165, 3b = AV. 6, 27, 3b; 2. AV. 12, 3, 35d; 3. MS. 1, 8, 2 [116, 12] = K. 6, 2 [50, 17] = Kp. 4, 1 [37, 9]).

WACKERNAGELS Erklärung krankt also an zwei Schwächen: an der völligen Vereinzelung der Stammbildung und an der Bedeutung von *agnīdhā-*. Es ist also von *agnīdh-* aus *\*agnī-dh-* auszugehen, das nach der Bildung, nach dem Akzent und nach der Syntax völlig normal ist und dem v. *agnīdhra-* zugrunde liegt. Das *agnīdh-* des RV. ist dann dem Einfluss des häufigen *sām-dh-* zuzuschreiben (OLDENBERG), fällt aber wegen der zweimaligen Langmessung des *i* im Nominativ *agnī* erst einem Redaktor zur Last; das durchgängige *agnīdh-* des K. beweist dann, dass sein Verfasser diese Redaktion des RV. kannte; die Kp. schliesst sich mit *agnīdh-* wie gewöhnlich dem K. an, gewährt aber dem zu seiner Zeit herrschenden *agnī* Aufnahme.

### III. Eine Lücke in der Vedic Concordance

Von den acht Mantrastellen des K. mit *agnī* hatten sich sieben als in der VC. fehlend ergeben, davon drei aus K. 9, 8, drei aus 9, 11, eine aus 9, 12; und die achte war mit 9, 8 statt 9, 9 falsch angegeben. Durch diese Versehen aufmerksam geworden, prüfte ich die Kapitel durch und stellte fest: (1) Alle Mantras von 9, 8 stehen in der VC., aber ohne die *Kāṭhaka*-stellen! (2) Die meisten dieser Mantras kehren in 9, 11 wieder; auch diese K.-Stellen fehlen in der VC., mit Ausnahme von 9, 11 (113, 3) *īndram pāccha svāhā*; aber auch hier fehlt 9, 8 (110, 13f.)! (3) Aus 9, 9 stehen alle Mantras in der VC.; aber zweimal steht 9, 8 statt 9, 9: *acittapājā agnī* und *acittamanā upavaktā* (beide 112, 1).

Auch die Angaben über die Parallelstellen in der MS. stellten sich als lückenhaft heraus: (1) Alle in MS. 1, 9, 1 sind verzeichnet; (2) von denen in 1, 9, 3 und 4 stehen 4 da, 10 fehlen. Ich stelle hier alle so gefundenen Lücken zusammen; die Besitzer der VC. sind vielleicht froh, die Stellen in ihr Exemplar eintragen zu können. Ich füge auch die Stellen der Kp. bei, die ja für die VC. höchstens in den Fussnoten der K.-Ausgabe zur Verfügung standen. Ich ordne nach dem Alphabet:

*agnīr hōtā* K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

*acittapājā agnī* (-ī; siehe oben II) K. 9, 9 (112, 1); 9, 12 (115, 3f.), Kp. 8, 12 (89, 1), MS. 1, 9, 5 (135, 8).



*ācittamanā upavaktā* K. 9, 9 (112, 1); 9, 12 (115, 4), Kp. 8, 12 (89, 1f), MS. 1, 9, 5 (135, 8).

*āśvinādhvaryū* K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

*ādhītaṃ barhīḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).

*āsmāsu nṛṇāṃ dhāt svāhā* K. 9, 8 (111, 1), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 10f).

*īndraṃ gaccha svāhā* K. 9, 8 (110, 13f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5).

*kéto agnīḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3f).

*cittāṃ ājyam* K. 9, 8 (110, 12; *cittam*: Druckfehler?); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).

*cittis (-īḥ) srūk* K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).

*jajānad īndraṃ indriyāya svāhā* K. 9, 8 (110, 16), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 7).

*tvāṣṭāgnīḥ (-īt; siehe oben II)* K. 9, 8 (110, 14); 9, 11 (113, 5), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 4).

*dyaúr adhvaryūḥ* ebenso!

*pṛthivī hótā* ebenso!

*prāṇó haviḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).

*bṛhaspátir upavaktā* K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9f.), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8f.).

*māna upavaktā* K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).

*mítrā upavaktā* K. 9, 8 (110, 14; *mítra*, wohl Druckfehler); 9, 11 (113, 5), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 6), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 4).

*yajñápataye vāryam ā svās karaḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 15), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 6f.; Fehler: *vāryam* veranlasst durch das *vāryēṇa* des unmittelbar vorangehenden Mantra).

*rudró (a)gnīḥ (-īt; siehe oben II)* K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

*vāg védīḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).

*vācāspátir hótā* K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).

*vācāspátis (-īḥ) sōmaṃ pibatu* K. 9, 8 (110, 16), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 7).

*vācāspate vācō vāryēṇa sambhṛtata menāyaksase* K. 9, 8 (110, 14f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 6): "o Vācāspati, mit der konzentriertesten Kraft des Wortes

wirst du dir (Gewinn) verschaffen"; VC. unrichtig *saṃbhṛtatam enayākṣase* statt *saṃbhṛtatamēnāyakṣase* = -mena ā yakṣ-.

*vācaspace kṣdvidhe nāman vācāspātis* (-ih) *sōmam apāt* K. 9, 8 (110, 18f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 10; *ridvidhe*); vgl. *vācaspace vidhe nāman, vidhema te nāma* K. 9, 9 (112, 2; in der VC. erwähnt), Kp. 8, 12 (89, 2f.).

*vijñātam agnī* (-īt; siehe oben II) K. 9, 8 (110, 12f.); 9, 11 (112, 11f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).

*śukrās* (-ah) *śukrāsya purogāḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 17; 111, 2), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 8, 11) (auch K. 30, 6 [188, 12]; in VC angeführt).

*śrātās ta indra sōmā vānīpe havanaśrūtas* (-ah) *svāhā* K. 9, 8 (110, 17f.; 111, 2f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 8f. 11f.; *vātāpayo* wie MS. 1, 9, 1 [131, 5, 10]; ms. *havanaśrucāḥ* [OERTEL *hanasrucāḥ*: Druckfehler]).

*sāmādhvaryāḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5).

*sōmas* (-ah) *sōmasya purogāḥ* K. 9, 8 (110, 18f.; 111, 1f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 7f. 11; das erste Mal *purogāḥ*: Druckfehler?); auch K. 30, 6 (188, 12; in der VC. angeführt).

Ich möchte dem verehrten Jubilar, dem auch dieser bescheidene Aufsatz als Gruss dargebracht wird, und den ausgezeichneten indischen Vedisten und Sanskritisten ans Herz legen, dahin zu wirken, dass die längst erwünschten Nachträge zur VC. auf Grund neuer Ausgaben wie Kp. und JB. hergestellt werden!

#### IV. *ajānat*

Br. III 16: "*jājanti* [sic!] Dhātup. 25, 24. P. 6, 1, 192. conj. *jajanat* (*indram*) Sch., *jajanam* (*indram*) 7, 4, 78. Sch."

Whitney Roots 52 führt als Präsens der 3. Klasse *jajanti* der Grammatiker an und als Konjunktiv des Perfekts *ajānat* aus "B." (d.h. aus der Brāhmaṇaprosā).

Ai. Gr. I p. XLVIII: "Auch vieles Einzelne von der Grammatik Gelehrte ist nach Pāṇini nicht zu belegen. So . . . die Präsensbildung *jajanti* "er zeugt"<sup>6</sup>. Anm. 5: "Ist in der ai. Litteratur überhaupt noch nicht nachgewiesen, aber durch av. *zazaṇti* gewährleistet BARTHOLOMAE AF. 2, 82".

Ai. Gr. I 83 § 75b A.: "Die Form *jajanti* ist nicht bezeugt, sondern bloss der Konjunktiv *ajān-at* P. 6, 1, 192 nebst Komm."

VC. 372b: *jajanad* (TB. text, erroneously, *prajanad*) *indram indriyāya svāhā* (omitted in MS.) MS. 1.9.1: 131.5; TB. 2.2.3.5; TA. 3.2.1.2; Ç Ç 10, 15. 6.

Ich möchte hier versuchen, etwas weiter zu kommen.



Zunächst ist der Mantra auch im K. und in der Kp. zu belegen (siehe oben III). Sodann ist *jajānat* Variante in einem aus dem RV. stammenden Vers: MS. 1, 3, 20 (37, 10) *mātā yād virāṃ jajānaj jāniṣṭhā* "als die Mutter den Helden gebär, den sehr zeugungskräftigen (oder sehr edel geborenen?)" (СМОКОВА MS. I p. XVII) = RV. 10, 73, 1d, VS. K. 4, 8 (33, 15; dazu jetzt Kp. 3, 6 [30, 12]), TB. *mātā yād virāṃ dadhānad dhāniṣṭhā* "(die Marut sogar stärkten dabei den Indra,) als die Mutter den Helden laufen lehrte als die beste Lehrmeisterin" (Geldner). Die Umformung in der MS. hat ihre Anregung von dem *jāniṣṭhā* (h) "du wurdest geboren" des Strophenanfangs erhalten, und das Genrebildchen von dem kleinen Indra, den die Mutter gehen lehrt, erschien wohl dem Umformer als unpassend für den grossen Gott. Aus dieser Variante der MS. stammt offenbar der Mantra *jajānad indram indriyāya*; er steht nach seiner Form, wie man sich oben überzeugen mag, als ein Fremdkörper unter den andern Mantras des Kapitels, und während der Konjunktiv im Relativsatz MS. 1, 3, 20 gut an seinem Platz ist, steht er in 1, 9, 1 als Aufforderung ohne Subjekt sonderbar da (Anknüpfung an das vorangehende *vācāspātīḥ sōmam pibatu* (apāt) gibt keinen Sinn).

Nun besteht aber sicher zwischen diesem *jajānat* und dem *jajanti* der Grammatiker eine enge Beziehung: P. 6, 1, 192 nennt unter den Wurzeln, die im Präsens nach der dritten Klasse Wurzelbetonung vor den unbetonten Endungen haben, neben *bhi-* *hrī-*, *bhṛ-*, *hu-*, *daridrā-* und *jāgr-* auch *mada-*, *jana-* und *dhana-*, und die Kāśikā gibt — gewiss nach schulmässiger Tradition — als Beispiele einerseits *bibheti*, *jihreti*, *bibharti*, *juhoti*, *daridrāti*, *jāgati*, andererseits *mamattu naḥ pariṣmā* (RV. 1, 122, 3a), *jajanad indram* und *dadhanat*; sie kannte also die Variante *jajanat* — *dadhanat* (s. Schroeder MS. I p. XVII). Aus derselben Quelle stammt der Kommentar der Kāśikā zu P. 7, 4, 78: P. lehrt hier für die vedische Sprache Schwanken des Reduplikationsvokals in der dritten Präsensklasse, und unter den Beispielen der Kāśikā stehen *jajanam* (wohl Versehen für *jajanad*) *indram* und *mātā yād virāṃ dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā* (siehe oben!). Die grammatische Tradition sagt also nur, dass "vedisches" *jajanat* und *dadhanat* zum Präsens der dritten Klasse gerechnet wurden, und ein *jajanti*, wie es seit BR. in der modernen grammatischen Literatur steht, ist nicht belegt; auch der Dhātupāṭha stellt *dhana dhānye* und *jana janane* (25, 23.24) unter die vedischen Wurzeln, meint also sicher nur die Formen *jajanat* und *dadhanat*!

Dass die Grammatiker die beiden Formen als Präsentia auffassten, ist einfach ein Irrtum: *da-dhan-* ist durch v. *da-dhan-vāṃs-* als Perfekt erwiesen (die v. Wurzel *dhan-* scheint überhaupt aus falscher Deutung von Formen wie v. *da-dhan[v]vāṃs-* und *da-dhan[v]-yuh* entstanden zu sein). Vergleiche dazu Karl Hoffmann Münchener Studien zur Sprachwiss.



4 (1954) 45ff., der auch die behauptete avestische Parallele *zaranti* anders deutet und das Verhältnis von *dadhánat-jajánat-jajanti* fast genau so erklärt wie ich.

Der Gesamtverlauf war also der: *dadhánat* RV. 10, 73, 1d wurde zu *jajánat* umgebildet (das formal ein völlig korrekter Konj. Perf. ist) und dieses von den Grammatikern als Präsens aufgefasst.

### V. *anarvāk*

In dem Opferspruch *anarvā prēhi* "unwiderstehlich komm her!" (VS. TS. K. 3, 6 [25, 15]; 9, 4 [107, 7], ŚB. S.) ersetzt die Kp. 2, 13 (22, 2); 8, 7 (85, 15) das erste Wort durch *anarvāk*; sie stimmt hier mit MS. 3, 10, 1 (128, 5; ohne Variante); 1, 2, 16 (26, 5; drei gegen zwei Zeugen) überein, gegen das K. Wie OERTTEL 1, 57 erkannt hat, ist *anarvāk* eine Angleichung von *anarvā* an die Adverbia wie *prāk*. Genauer und ergänzend wäre so zu formulieren: *anarvāk* ist eine Kontamination von v. *anarvā(ṇ)* - "unaufhaltsam" mit dem v. Adverb *arvāk*, das zum v. Adjektiv *arvāñe* - "herwärts gerichtet" gehört; vgl. Ai. Gr. II 2, 155. 870. 903 § 59. 702b. 720bA.

Die Variante *anarvāk* fehlt übrigens in den Vedic Variants, obschon sie in der VC. angegeben ist.

### Abkürzungen

Ai. Gr. = Altindische Grammatik von J. WACKERNAGEL (und A. DEBRUNNER). I. 1896. II 1. 1905. II 2. 1954. III. 1930. Göttingen.

K. = Kāthakum. Die Samhitā der Kātha-Cākhā, herausg. von L. von SCHROEDER, I. 1900. II. 1909. III. 1910. Leipzig.

Kp. = Kapiṣṭhala-Kātha-Saṃhitā. A Text of the Black Yajurveda, critically edited for the first time by Raghu VIRA. Lahore 1932.

MACDONELL = A. A. MACDONELL, Vedic Grammar, Strassburg 1910. (Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research I 4).

OERTTEL 1 = H. OERTTEL, Zur Kapiṣṭhala-Kātha-Saṃhitā. München 1934. (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abteilung 1934, Heft 6).

OERTTEL 2 = H. OERTTEL, Die Dativi finales abstrakter Nomina .... in der vedischen Prosa. München 1941. (Sitzungsberichte .... 1941, Band II, Heft 9).

Vaidik = Viśva-Bandhu ŚASTRI, Vaidikapadānukramakośa or a Vedic word-concordance. Lahore 1935ff. Vol. I 1 (Samh.); u. 1942. II 1.2 (Brāhma. und Arany.); 1935/36. Vol. III 1.2 (Up.); 1945.

VC. = Vedic Concordance, by M. BLOOMFIELD. Cambridge (Mass.) 1906. (Harvard Oriental Series 10).

VV. Vedic Variants, by M. BLOOMFIELD and Fr. ECKERTON. 3 Bände. Philadelphia 1930. 1932. 1934.

Sonst werden die üblichen Abkürzungen verwendet; vgl. Ai. Gr. II 2, 941ff.

Akzente werden gesetzt, wo sie wenigstens in einem Teil der Belegstellen überliefert sind. Die MS. ist durchgehend mit Akzenten überliefert, K. 9, 8 und 12 ebenfalls; die einzige Handschrift der Kp. schreibt keine Akzente.



## VÉDIQUE KARŪDATIN-

PAR

E. BENVENISTE, *Paris*

Un hapax védique est généralement difficile à interpréter sans le secours de la tradition, précisément parce que le silence de la tradition est signe que le mot a toujours été obscur. Mais il arrive aussi que, même quand le sens en a été conservé, la formation du hapax ne puisse s'expliquer avec les ressources du vocabulaire indien. C'est alors que la comparaison peut utilement intervenir. Dans le cas présent, un terme védique de sens connu, mais d'analyse encore incertaine, s'éclairera par recours à une langue voisine.

Il s'agit de l'adjectif *kārūdatin-*, attesté une seule fois dans l'ensemble de la littérature védique et indienne, à la fin de l'hymne RS. IV 30,24: *vāmān pūṣā vāmān bhāgo vāmān devah kārūḍatī* "(qu'ils t'accordent) faveur, Pūṣan, Bhaga, le dieu brèche-dent". Le sens de *kārūdatin-* "aux dents ébréchées, déficientes" est sûr. Tous les lexicographes et exégètes le donnent: "hohlzähig, stumpfzähig" (PW); "one whose teeth are decayed and broken, having gaps in the teeth (MW); "(der Gott) mit morschem Zahn" (GRASSMANN); "der zahnluckige Gott" (GELDNER). Leur accord a pour garant l'enseignement de Yāska qui commente ainsi — dans la version de L. SARUP — le vers védique: "*kārūḍatī* means having gaps in his teeth .... But who is the god who has gaps in his teeth? According to some it is an epithet of Bhaga, who comes before it. According to others, this god is Pūṣā, because he has no teeth. Pūṣā is without teeth, says a Brāhmaṇa passage".<sup>1</sup>

La référence finale de Yāska vise un passage du ŚB, épisode d'un mythe de Prajāpati, expliquant pourquoi Pūṣan est édenté. En voici l'essentiel: "(That part of the sacrifice torn out with the dart) they .... took it round to Pūṣan. Pūṣan tasted it: it knocked out his teeth. And thus it came to pass. Hence they say 'Pūṣan is toothless'; and therefore, when they prepare a mess of boiled rice (*oṁru*) for Pūṣan, they prepare it from ground rice, as is done for one toothless".<sup>2</sup> Cette narration du ŚB.

1. Nirukta VI. 31. Trad. Lakshman SARUP, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, 1921, p. 110. Texte skr. ed. SARUP, 1927, p. 128.

2. ŚB. I, 7, 4, 7 ECKELING.

a encore son écho dans la Brhaddevatā: "Pūṣan is here called *kārūḷati*, according to a Vedic text, he is toothless".<sup>3</sup>

Dès lors que le sens est ainsi établi, il est manifeste que *kārūḍatin-* contient le nom de la 'dent' au degré *dat-* connu par v. *a-dāt-*, *a-dat-ka-*, *dat-vāt-* et aussi par le composé *krivir-daṭi* f. "aux dents flamboyantes (?)",<sup>4</sup> qui a, comme *kārūḍatin-*, l'accentuation des bahuvrīhis. Mais la rétroflexe de *-ḍatin-* n'oblige pas nécessairement à restituer le composé en *\*karūḷ-datin-*, comme on l'a proposé récemment.<sup>5</sup> Plus probablement ḍ est ici pour d, comme dans bon nombre de cas où une justification phonétique fait défaut.<sup>6</sup> Pour les raisons qui suivent, nous considérerons que *kārūḍatin-* vaut simplement *kārū-datin-*.

Le premier membre du composé, *kārū-*, est resté obscur. On peut présumer que, dans un composé signifiant "brèche-dent" et dont le second terme est "dent", le premier doit porter le sens de "déficient" ou "gâté". Mais cela reste une conjecture, impossible à vérifier par le sanskrit, où *kārū-* n'existe pas autrement.

C'est l'iranien qui apporte la solution. Non pas l'iranien ancien, mais un dialecte du moyen-iranien, le sogdien. On commence—trop lentement—à remarquer que le moyen-iranien, dans la diversité de ses dialectes, conserve des données de haute antiquité qui peuvent souvent concourir à la restitution de l'indo-iranien, au même titre que le védique.

Nous connaissons en sogdien un composé qui a le même sens que v. *kārūḍatin-* et où l'on peut retrouver les mêmes éléments. C'est l'adjectif *krw šnt'k*, à lire *karū-šandak* (ou *-šande*), issu de *\*karū-dantaka*, signifiant "brèche-dent". Le sens est assuré par le texte chinois, original de la version sogdienne où le mot figure.<sup>7</sup> Du premier terme *karū-* nous avons un autre exemple, *krw'* "lacune, brèche", dans un texte bouddhique,<sup>8</sup> également traduit du chinois.<sup>9</sup> Ce sens est d'ailleurs confirmé par la survivance du terme en iranien moderne. On y a comparé en persan *karu* کرو *karu* کرو que les lexiques persans traduisent "dent creuse", et dans le parler de Birjand

3. MACDONELL, *Brhaddevatā*, II, p. 164 (Harvard Or. Series 6).

4. RS. I, 106, 6, cf. Nir. VI 31. Le sens de *krivir* est incertain; cf. NEUSSEN, *Zum Wb. des Ṛgveda*, II, 1930, p. 71 [cf. maintenant MAYHOFER, op. cit., p. 278].

5. M. MAYHOFER, *Kurzgef. etym. Wb. der altind. Spr.*, 1954, p. 168: "*kārūḷati*... wohl aus *\*karūḷ-datin-* wovon *-ḍatin-* als *\*-dat-in-* zu dem 'Zahn' gehört. Das erste Glied bleibt unklar".

6. WACHSNER, *Āind. Gr.* I, §§ 148 b, 151.

7. *Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, I, 83.

8. *Dharmasūtra*, 66, Cf. JA. 1933, II, p. 219.




9. Cf. WELLS, *Monumenta Serica*, II, p. 386.



*kabrā*, *kawrā* "toothless".<sup>10</sup> Il est donc certain que l'iranien ancien a connu ce *karū-* (*karva-*) attesté à partir du sogdien. On peut donc, grâce au témoignage sogdien, poser ir. \**karū-danta* (*ka-*) en parallèle exact à véd. *kārū-datin-*. Seule la suffixation diffère; la forme védique a reçu la suffixation en *-in-* qui, selon Pāṇini 5.2.128, caractérise souvent l'expression des défauts corporels. La nature même de cette désignation semblerait propre à l'exclure de nos textes; il a fallu un hasard exceptionnel pour qu'elle y figurât une fois dans chacune des deux traditions. La seule qualification de sens analogue qu'on rencontre en avestique est *vīmītō. dantan-* "aux dents irrégulières".

Quant aux relations étymologiques de ce *karū-* maintenant restauré en indo-iranien, on pensera d'abord à lat. *caries*, dont le sens est proche, cf. *dentes cariosi*, et, par suite, à skr. *śīryate*, av. *sari-* "brisure, tesson", *sārivant-* "qui a une brisure"; grâce à *karū-*, on a maintenant la forme indo-iranienne à gutturale initiale qui manquait encore.<sup>11</sup> La suffixation en *-u-* rappelle le thème de gr. *keraw-izein* "causer des dégâts, ravager", qui appartient au même groupe. Ainsi en combinant les témoignages indien et iranien, on peut enrichir d'un terme nouveau le lexique indo-iranien.

10. HENNING, *BSOS*, X, p. 56, et *Sogdica*, 1940, p. 23, citant IWANOW, *JPASB*, XXIX, 4, p. 340.

11. Après avoir rédigé ces pages, je m'aperçois que R. ROTH, il y a un siècle, avait pressenti la solution, autant qu'on pouvait le faire de son temps. Dans son commentaire au *Nirukta*, *Jāśka's Nirukta*, III, 1852, pp. 96-97, il observe: "*kārūjati*. Nach J (āśka) muss es stumpfzählig, holzzählig, bedeuten. Eine Bestätigung dafür gibt das pers.  und  hohler, morscher Zahn (vgl. auch  Rost, Faulniss und caries)".

## THREE LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE GOPĀLAKELICANDRIKĀ

BY

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The drama entitled *Gopālakelicandrikā* has been edited by Professor W. CALAND from the unique manuscript which Professor H. KERN had acquired during his stay at Benares (circa 1864).<sup>1</sup> Although it is doubtless a rather modern work, it appeared to contain a number of words that are rare or unknown. A list of such "remarkable words" CALAND added as an appendix to his edition (pp. 151-152). It was inevitable (and CALAND himself was quite aware of it) that this *editio princeps*, notwithstanding its undeniable merits, was not free from errors. Some of them, which were registered in the index have since been taken over by R. SCHMIDT in his *Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig 1928). It may be useful, therefore, to note some of the most obvious errors, although we are not concerned here with questions of textual criticism. They are the following: *āsannikṛta*: read *āsanikṛtya* MS.; *paktibhū*: for *sarvamyaktibhaviṣyati* MS. read *sarvaṁ vyaktibhaviṣyati*; *bakūla*: the metre requires *bakula*- (cf. also *kūla*- for *kula*-77, 35); *siñjana*: read *siñjita*- MS., *hrad*: the MS. reads *āhlādayati* (cf. *āhlāda*-138, 12, *āhlādini*-107, 1, *apahlāda*-62, 19.)<sup>2</sup> In this paper, however, we intend to discuss three lexicographical problems of some wider interest.

### 1. Cāturi- and Mādhuri-

1. The first word occurs in the following passage (p. 58, l. 28 ff.):  
*upaviśatu bhagavān navakisalayaḥkṛtaparamāṣane*

<i>śikhinām śirasi vidhuvan</i>	<i>†marakatabhaṅgābhiraṁpicchāni</i>
<i>kurvaṇi locananalinām</i>	<i>śrutipathasaṁcāracāturiniratam</i>

1. Een onbekend Indisch toneelstuk (*gopālakelicandrikā*). Tekst met inleiding door W. CALAND, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterk., N. R. XVII, nr. 3 (Amsterdam 1917).

2. Although a discussion of problems of textual criticism is excluded from this paper one particular reading may be pointed out here, because it might give rise to wrong conclusions: the curious word *āryamāśa* 51, 5 (not registered in the index) is misread for *ayi māśa* of the MS. Cf. the same form of address in 77, 12; 115, 28 and 133, 18 (: *ayi priya* 75, 23, *ayi sakhyah* 83, 18), and see Mrs. STCHOTPAK's note on p. 78 of her edition of the *Uttarāramacarita*. It has accordingly nothing to do with *ārya-putra*- (for older *āryaputra*- *Buddha*, 8. 34, which confirms Thieme's explanation based on Pali *āryaputta*-), nor with *āryadevitya*- (that has given rise to the fictitious name *Dhūtā* for *Cāradatta*'s wife, which occurs already in *Nilakantha*'s interpolation in the 10th Act of the *Mṛcchakatikā*, dating, it seems, from about 1600 A.D.).



"Let the Lord sit down on the lofty seat that has been arranged from fresh shoots,

waving on his head the peacock's feathers graceful like fragments of emerald,

while he causes his eye-lotuses to practise their skill in moving towards the ears."

The reading *marakatabhaṅgābhirāme* of the MS. shows that the copyist construed it with *śīrasi*. Perhaps he had the same line in mind which may have inspired the poet, viz. the description of the hunted antelope in Śakuntalā I: *grīvābhaṅgābhirāmaṁ muhur anupatati syandane baddhadarśtīh*, etc. However, *bhaṅga-* is here used in a sense, which is unknown in the older poetry. In the works of Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, it is true, the word sometimes denotes a fragment or twig of a plant,<sup>3</sup> but the acceptation "fragment of a precious stone or gem" (comm.: *śakala-*, *khaṇḍa-*), which is not recorded in the lexica, is mainly characteristic of later poetry, although there is one occurrence in prose in the older part of the Daśakumāracarita.<sup>4</sup> The common word for it in the older classical literature is *śakala-* or *bheda-*: there is one occurrence of *bhaṅga-* in Kālidāsa's works but this stands in a spurious stanza.<sup>5</sup> In the Gopālakelīcandrikā it occurs a few times instead of *śakala-*, which is much more frequent. Cf. *indranīlamanībhaṅga-nībhaṅga-* 47, 12,<sup>6</sup> and *marakatavibhaṅgojjvālatribhāṅgāṅga-* 46, 1.<sup>7</sup> For *nalina-* referring to both eyes, cf. Gop. 75, 31, where *taralavilocanānalīnam* is likened to *matsyadvayam* and *khañjanayugalam*.

The word *mādhurī-* occurs in the second benedictory stanza (p. 43, line 6 ff.):

*nīdrāryājam upetya kuñjabhavane suptasya mānonnatā  
rādā tāmādhavamādhurīpramuditā tāvac cucumbādharam  
smeraspanditatārakākṣikamalam saṁvikṣya patyur mukham  
sā nūnam vidadhātu maṅgalacayam lajjānamadvikṣāṇā,*

3. Cf. *pallavabhaṅga-* Kumāras. 3. 61, Kādambarī, p. 11, line 5-6, *myśalabhaṅga-* Raghuv. 16. 16, *sallakībhaṅga-* Vikramorv. 4. 23, *bisabhaṅga-* Śak. 3. 21 (ed. CARPENTER).

4. P. 86, line 2, (Agashe) *manībhaṅganirmalāmbhasi* (comm.: *ratnaśakalam*).

5. Meghadūta III, 31A *vidrumāpām ca bhaṅgān* (Mallin.: *pravālakhaṇḍān*, Cāritravardhinī *pravālakhaṇḍān śakalāni*) is a prakṛipta stanza according to Mallinātha.

6. Against, e.g., *mahendranīlāśakala-* 47, 26, *dalitendranīlāśakalacchāyābhirāmā* tanūr 127, 33, *prādurbhūtamahendranīlāśakalacchā* < yop? > -*tadūrpāṅkuraiḥ* 47, 26, *bhugnamahendranīla-* *śakalacchāyōlasaccandrakam* 96, 25. Cf. also *indranīlabhedābhinīlavarṇa-* Jātakamūlā 34, 13.

7. Against, e.g., *marakataśakalakelita-* Gitagov. 8. 4.



"When her husband feigned himself sleeping in the bower, Rādhā, enraptured at Mādhava's charm, at first kissed his lip in proud self-confidence: (but then), seeing that a smile made palpitate the pupils of his eye-lotuses she bashfully cast down her eyes. May she, indeed, grant abundant happiness".

For *pramuṣitā* the Ms. reads *pramukhitā*, which CALAND in his Dutch translation of this stanza tentatively renders by "being confronted with."<sup>8</sup> The possibility of such a denominative formation having been created cannot be denied in view of the occurrence of *saṁmukhayati* on p. 128, line 4.<sup>9</sup> The use of *pramukhitā* in a similar meaning, however, would be far less natural as it would be based on a rather rare meaning of *pramukha-* (which is mainly found in the epics). Since *pramukhitā* is fully isolated (according to our present knowledge) and not warranted by the context I have no hesitation in taking *kh* as the usual mistake for *ṣ*, *pramuṣita-* here being used in the sense of "ravished". *Smera-* for *smita-* is common in the Gopāl.

2. The words *cātūrī-* and *mādhurī-* are occasionally met with in the later literature. Being rhyme-words they are sometimes combined in one context: cf. the following stanza, which BÖHTLINGK, *Indische Sprüche* 5468 (2477) quotes from the Guṇaratnamahodadhī:

yā rākṣasāśobhanā gataghanā sā yāminī yāminī  
yā saundaryagunānvitā patiratā sā kāmīnī kāmīnī  
yā govindarasapramodamadhurā sā mādhurī mādhurī  
yā lokadvayasāadhanī tanubhṛtām sā cātūrī cātūrī,

the last lines of which may be taken to mean: "That is true sweetness, which is sweetened by the bliss of the mystical rapture engendered by the Krishna-bhakti; that is true skill, which bestows both worlds on the mortals". In most works where these words occur, we find the far commoner abstract nouns *cāturya-* and *mādhurya-* used side by side with them.<sup>10</sup> These, too, are sometimes associated because of their assonance, e.g., *rūpacāturyamādhuryaśīlācāragunānvitāḥ* Rām. 1. 6. 17 NW-rec. (= śl. 16 NE. rec., śl. 13 Schlegel). Also

8. P. 11 of the introduction. For the rest this translation seems to miss the point. Slightly different is R. SCHMIDT's translation of the word in his *Nachträge*, viz. "mit dem Gesichte hingewandt".

9. *Kṛṣṇaḥ priyāḥ saṁmukhayati: saṁmukhībhaṇa* (line 5). As far as I can see, this word has only been recorded from the Bhāminī Vilāsa thus far. With this work Gopālakelīcandrikā shows some remarkable lexical coincidences.

10. Cf. e.g., in the Gopāl. *cāturya-* 139, 36 and *mādhurya-* 115, 22 (also *madhurī-* 139, 30; cf. Pān. 5. 1. 122 ff.),



in chronological respect the use of *cāturi-* and *mādhuri-* seems to have run parallel. A chronological arrangement of the occurrences that are recorded by the lexica presents the following picture:

*cāturi-*:

- about 1085 : Vikramāṅkadevacarita 6. 12.
- ? 12th cent. : Naiṣadhacarita 1. 12.
- 13th cent. : Prasannarāghava 32. 21; 53. 6, Vopadeva 4. 12.
- 14th cent. : Medinīkośa.
- about 1625 : Siddhānta Kaumudī.
- unknown (but certainly late): Gopāl.

*mādhuri-*:

- 12th cent. : Gītagovinda 3. 15.
- 13th cent. : Prasannarāghava 105. 11.
- 17th cent. : Bhāminīvilāsa 2, 159; 4. 38, 43.
- unknown : Daśakumāracarita (Pūrvapīṭhikā!) 5, 6 Ag.; Gopāl.

The earliest occurrence, accordingly, which is mentioned in our dictionaries, is in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita (c. 1085, see Bühler, *Introd.* p. 23), although *cāturiya-* (8. 53) and *mādhuriya-* (7. 27; 9. 119) are equally used by Bilhana. In the Daśakumāracarita proper only *mādhuriya-* seems to be used (p. 42, 8 & 11 Ag.). So the occurrence of *mādhuri-* in the Pūrvapīṭhikā is a new indication of the late origin of this addition.<sup>11</sup>

3. The explanation of these words must be kept apart from that of a seemingly analogous instance, viz. *mādhukarī-*. Before the publication of the Gopālakelicandrikā this word was only known from modern sources, such as Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary, who defines its meaning as follows: "the business of a bee, collecting from flower to flower; so these beggars from door to door". See also APTE's Skt. Dictionary. The unique place where this word is attested is Gopāl. 134, line 5. Here a gopī discusses the disappearance of Kṛṣṇa in the words *sa tu prāyaśaḥ kayāpy anyayā pralobhito mādhukarīm kartum gato bhaviṣyati* (with the usual equation of lover and bee, cf. *bhṛāga-*). Since the word denotes, not the state of being a bee but the collecting of

11. For the late character of the Pūrvapīṭhikā see, e.g., A. GAWRONSKI, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen über das Mrochakatika und das Daśakumāracarita* (Leipzig 1907), p. 48, Ed. THOMMEN, *Die Wortstellung im nachvedischen Altindischen und im Mittelindischen* (Gütersloh 1903), pp. 2, 9, 21, B. MARLANO, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 25 (1950), pp. 48-54. It seems, however, to have been prefixed at least before the 11th century, see S. K. DE, *History of Sanskrit Literature* 1, 1947, 210f, n. 5.

honey, it is unlikely to stand for *mādhukarya-* (which, moreover, is unknown in Sanskrit). It is obviously a comparatively recent local word as none of the indigenous authorities (including the *Śabdakalpadrūma*) mentions it. Most likely, therefore, it is an elliptical expression for *mādhukarī vṛttiḥ*, cf. *Bhāg. Pur.* 11. 8. 9 *gṛhṇa ahimsann ātigghed vṛttiṃ mādhukarīm munīḥ* and *Böhtlingk, Petrop. Dict.* V, 1672. In this case a direct literary imitation of the *Bhāg. Pur.* seems to be excluded.

4. For *cāturi-* and *mādhuri-* a different explanation is required. Our conclusion that both must have arisen at a late date is corroborated by the circumstance that *mādhuri-* is not recorded by any of the *kośas* whose contents have been registered in the *Petropolitan Dictionary*, while *cāturi-* occurs only in the *Medinīkośa*. Now, about a century before the first occurrence of *cāturi-*, we find in *Somadevasūri's Yaśastilaka* (10th cent.) the curious form *cāturiyam*, which seems to reflect a well-known Prakrit development, cf. Pali *cāturiya-* Pkt. *māhuriya-*.<sup>22</sup> In *Apabhraṃśa* the ending *-ia* became *-i* (e.g., in the gerunds, see *Pischel* (§ 594) and some incidental traces of a similar development appear to occur already in *BHSkt*. On the other hand, all the modern Indo-Aryan languages form abstract nouns with the suffix *-ī*, e.g. Hindi *cor* "thief": *corī* "theft". These words, usually feminine because of their form, are the regular phonetic developments of words in *-ikā*, *-itam* and *-iyam*. Seeing that Hindi has on the one hand the type *corī*, on the other hand the Sanskrit and semi-Sanskrit words *mādhurya*, m., *mādhuriyā*, f. and *mādhurī*, f. the question arises, whether the creation of *cāturi-* beside *cāturya-* and *cāturiya-*, and in general the productiveness of this category of abstract nouns in *-ī* in a period when the New Indo-Aryan type of languages came into existence, may be due to the influence of early NIA.

5. Several other abstract nouns in *-ī*, too, appear to occur only at a late date, e.g.:

*vaiduṣī-* *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (12th cent.), cf. *vaiduṣya-* *Rājatar.*

*vaidagdhī-* *Daśarūpa* (10th cent.), *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (12th cent.?)  
*Sāhitya Darpaṇa* (14th cent. ?)

*vaiḥālī-* "hunting" in a Jain version of the *Śimhāsanadvātriṃśikā* (*Werner, Ind. Studien* 15, 235, n. 1).

*sāmagrī-* *Pañcat.* II, 6, 12 (ed. BSS.: *Pūrṇabhadra* 130, 11), V, 54, 8, *Hitop.* 113, 2 *Peterson, Rājatar., Kathās.*, and later works (*Śatruṅjayamāhātmya*, *Sāh. Darp.*, *Sarvadarśana-*

22. For the insertion of *i* in the consonant group *ry* see *Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 134, *Garcus, Pali* § 30, *Edgerton, Buddh. Hybr. Skt. Grammar* 3, 103.



samgraha, Siddhānta Kaumudī). From Mhbh., Suśruta and Kālidāsa only *sāmagrya-* is recorded. Cf. however Pāli Pkt. *sāmaggi*.

However, among the instances of this type of noun-formation which are enumerated by WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, Altind. Grammatik II, 2 (1954), 397 f., there are also words that are attested at a much earlier date, e.g. *maitrī-* (Mhbh., Var. BS., Amara, Kāśikā, Halāy.) *ārhanṭī-* (Patañjali), *aucitī-* (Suśr., Kāś., Amara, etc.) and probably also *ābhijāti* (Ratnāvali II. 43. 6, against *ābhijātya-* III. 62).<sup>13</sup>

6. The earliest instances of this word-class, however, are *yāthākāmī-* and *ānupūrvī-*. We shall first examine the latter word. In the 10th maṇḍala of the Rīgveda we meet with the earliest occurrence of the adverb *anupūrvam*. An abstract noun *ānupūrvya-* derived from it, is attested since the Nirukta, RVPrāt., TaittPrāt., Pāṇ (2. 1. 6); Kāty Ś., etc. Since Manu and Mhbh. we find also *ānupūrvam* and a third form *ānupūrvī-*. An examination of the occurrences of the last word provides the following picture:

Manu : *ānupūrvyā* 3. 23 (: *ānupūrvyeṇa* 9. 149; *ānupūrvēṇa* 2. 41).

Kautilya (2nd ed.) : *ānupūrvyā* p. 63, 16. *ānupūrvī* p. 427, 8.

Mahābhārata (Crit. ed.) :

- I. 67. 10 *anupūrvyā kṣatrasya* (73. 10 Bo., 2964 Calc.); cf. Manu 3. 23. Variant readings *-vān*, *-vyāt*, *-vyān*.
- I. 185. 17 *ācādhvaṁca jñātikulānupūrvīm* (193. 17 Bo., 7190 Ca.); v. l. *ānupūrvam*.
- III. 11081 (p. 572 !) Ca. *tān ānupūrvyā bhagavān* (: *ānupūrvyād* 116. 11 Poona, Bo.).
- III. 172. 6 *ānupūrvyān mahābhujāḥ* (175. 6 Bo., 12296 Ca.). But the Northern recension (except Ś1) reads *ānupūrvyā*.
- III. 202. 10 *ānupūrvyā vinaśyanti jāyante cānupūrvāḥ* (211. 10 Bo., 13929 Ca.); vv. ll. *-vyād*, *-vyām*.

Rāmāyaṇa<sup>14</sup> :

- II. 90. 6 *ānupūrvyā sa dharmajñāḥ* Schl. *ānupūrvyāc ca* S. *ānupūrvyāt sa* NW. 103. 9.

13. The reading *yāntya* for *ābhijātyā* in the edition by N. B. GONAPOL and K. P. PARAS (Bombay 1890) is obviously corrupt.

14. The data for the NE. (Bengali) recension are exclusively based upon BOURTINCK's quotations from GOSWAMI's edition (only for III-VII). For the Southern recension (Sic) I have consulted Śrīmad Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, a critical edition edited and published by T. R. KRISHNACHARYA and T. R. VYASACHARYA, Bombay 1911, further the oblong folio

- II. 91. 39 *ānupūrvyān niṣedus ca* Schl. *ānupūrvyān niṣedus ca* S. 91. 40. *ānupūrvyān niṣedus ca* NW. 104. 41.
- II. 101. 11 *tadānupūrvyā* Schl. *tadānupūrvyā* S. 104. 10 (resp. 101. 10). *tvam ānupūrvyato* NW. 115. 10.
- III. 70. 20 *ānupūrvān ca dharmasya gatvā* NE. *ānupūrvyeṇa dharmān tvam* NW. 71. 19. Lacking in S.
- IV. 54. 20 *ānupūrvyā 'tha* NE., NW. 46. 22, *ānupūrvyāt tu* S. 54. 20.

These materials suggest the following conclusions:

1. *ānupūrvā-* is, with a few exceptions, exclusively used in the instrumental sing.
2. The instrum. *ānupūrvyā* is more or less an adverb, which is used side by side with *ānupūrvyeṇa* (see Manu and Rām. III. 70. 20).
3. In several passages of the Rām. there is a variant reading *ānupūrvyāt*. The only case form of *ānupūrvya-*, however, that was in common use was the instrumental *ānupūrvyeṇa*. Cf. RVPrāt. 2. 2; 11. 8 & 9, Manu 9. 149, Mhbh. Bomb. 1. 185. 5<sup>15</sup>, III. 114. 1; 240. 13; 302. 19 and many passages where older editions had the inferior reading *ānupūrvyeṇa*, e.g., Mhbh. III. 296. 11 Bo. (for *-veṇa*, Sāvitrī 4. 11 Bopp), Rām. 1. 57. 16, 60, gS. (for *-veṇa* ed. SCHLEGEL) and VI 4. 98 S. (: V. 72. 15 NW.) against V. 74. 14 NE. (cf. also V. 73. 2 NE, apparently without a correspondence in S. and NW.). Only in Manu 2. 41 is *ānupūrvyeṇa* attested without variant readings (against *ānupūrvyā* 9. 149).
4. This leads us to suppose that wherever *ānupūrvyāt* occurs as a variant reading of *ānupūrvyā*, the latter reading is the correct one, *-āt* being due to a tendency to replace it by a commoner form. In view of Mhbh. III. 172. 6, where the Northern recension has *ānupūrvyā* it may be suggested that also in Rām. II. 91. 39 *ānupūrvyān ānupūrvyān* stands for *ānupūrvyā*. Like *ānupūrvyāt*, also *ānupūrvyato* Rām. II. 115. 10 NW. seems to be secondary although the form is paralleled by *yāthātathyatāḥ* Vāj. S. 40. 3. Monier-Williams's statement that *ānupūrvya-* is generally used in the ablative form in *-āt* seems not to be borne out by facts.

edition of Bombay, the Bālmiki Rāmāyaṇam (Illustrious Hara Kumara Tagore's Sanskrit Library, no date), the edition of Madras 1933, and SCHLEGEL's edition of I-II. They all represent essentially the same text in the relevant passages. The data for the NW. recension have been taken from the edition by Bhagavad Darra and Vishvabandhu SHASTRI (Lahore 1928-1947).

15. Here the Bo. ed. reads *ānupūrvyeṇa*!



5. The sole occurrences of the nom. and the acc. sing. are, accordingly, in Kauṭ. 427, 8 *śāstrasya prakaraṇānupūrvī vidhānam* ("Die fortlaufende Reihe der behandelten Gegenstände des Lehrbuchs ist die Einzelbehandlung" MEYER), Mhbh. I. 185, 17 *ācaḍhyaṁ (ākhyāta) ca jñātikulānupūrvīm* (v. I. ānupūrvam) and Rām. III. 70, 20 NE. *ānupūrvīm ca dharmasya (ānupūrvyeṣa NW.)*. Here, again, a tendency towards elimination of the forms in -ī is manifest in part of the tradition.

6. It may be added that *ānupūrvyeṣa* and *ānupūrvyā* seem no longer to have been in use in the classical literature.

7. From *yāthākāmam*, which, like *anupūrvām*, occurs since the 10th maṇḍala of the R̥gveda, an abstract noun *yāthākāmya-* has been derived in the late Vedic period, cf. Vārtt. on Pāṇ. 8. 1. 66 (*vā yāthākāmye-*) and Śāṅkh. Ś. (*yāthākāmyam*). Since the Sūtras we find, again, a bye form *yāthākāmī-*. It cannot be questioned that this formation is secondary with regard to *yāthākāmya-*. It is accordingly a new formation that must have arisen towards the end of the Vedic period. It must be possible, then, to find out how this word came into existence. As it is the earliest instance of an abstract noun in -ī in Sanskrit the possibility of an analogical explanation may be ruled out. Nor does the terse style of the Sūtra-texts contain any indication as to its possible origin, for it occurs exclusively in the nominative form, e.g., *prastare yāthākāmī* Ap. Ś. 1. 4. 5 (8 occurrences in total), *yāthākāmī vā* Kauṣ. 60. 3, 75. 3, Lāty. Ś. 2. 5. 16; 10. 20. 14, Śāṅkh. Ś. 1. 3. 7; 6. 6. 40 (against *yāthākāmyam* 2. 1. 6; 10. 13. 5), Kāty. Ś. 1. 2. 10.

This use of the nominative reminds us of the analogous use of *ānupūrvī* in Kauṭilya (*śāstrasya prakaraṇānupūrvī vidhānam* 427. 8). As a matter of fact, these Sūtra texts, on account of their particular style, do not allow an inference as to how a given word was used in the ordinary speech. If we venture to suppose, on the analogy of *ānupūrvyā*, that in this case, too, the form most frequently used must at one time have been *yāthākāmyā*, it must be admitted all at once that neither this form, nor any other form at all except the nominative (and once the locat. in the comm. on Kāty. Ś. 1. 2. 10) is attested. On the other hand, we should not lose sight of the fact that the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras give a rather one-sided picture of the language of that period.

We shall start, therefore, from the working-hypothesis that \**yāthākāmyā* has been in use at a rather early date. Although this form is not itself attested, a good many other forms in -*kāmyā* are known from the Vedic language. The earliest occurrences are *vittakāmyā* "from desire of gain", and *putrakāmyā*, *ḍhanakāmyā* in the Atharva Veda. The Brāhmaṇas provide



some more instances, e.g., *kirīkāmyā*, *yāikāmyā* Śat. Br., *bhūyaskāmyā* Śat. Br. Kāṇv. and *jagatkāmyā* Ait. Br. Like *ānupūrvyā* in the later language, these forms are used as adverbs, although they seem occasionally to have been regarded as case-forms of feminine *ā*-stems, for in the Jaim. Br. we find twice *āśvalkāmyā* and *strīkāmyā* used as nominatives (resp. accusatives) in a fixed formula (I 98, II 363). The historical explanation of this forms in *-yā* presents some difficulties, see WACKERNAGEL-DESHUNNER, *Altind. Grammatik* III, 76 and 117, and especially p. 595, where these authorities take *-kāmyā* as a case of haplology for *-kāmyayā* and derive it from *kāmyā*. This, however, would involve that a word *-kāmyā* existed as early as the Ath. S. In fact, such a feminine noun does not occur (apart from the formula in Jaim. Br.) before Manu and Mhbh. and here, again, its use is nearly exclusively restricted to the instrumental form of the singular *kāmyayā*, which as a rule is the final member of compound, e.g., *putrakāmyayā hitakāmyayā*, etc. (see the Petrop. Dict. s. v. *kāmyā*). This use bears so striking a resemblance to the compounds of the type *putrakāmyā* Ath. S., *yatkāmyā* Śat. Br., that BÖHRLEINER combined them s.v. *kāmyā*. This was no doubt correct but, if there is some connection between the Vedic and the epical words, how are we to explain it? If *-kāmyā* is due to haplology, it is hardly conceivable that the original form should have been preserved intact in the classical language. It might be suggested that *-kāmyayā* is a restoration of the grammatically correct form of the instrumental case: if so, it must be objected that from the view-point of noun-formation the existence in Vedic of a noun *kāmyā* beside *kāma*- (which alone has indubitable correspondences in Iranian) is open to serious doubts. Defendants of that theory, it is true, might point out that, whatever the origin of *kāmyā*, its existence is an established fact as its nominative sing. occurs both in the Jaim. Br. and in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (III 18. 17). This fact cannot be denied, indeed, but it admits of a different interpretation.

8. The use of the nominative in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* is certainly particular in several respects. It occurs in a passage, where the older text-form of the *Cārudatta*<sup>16</sup> has undergone a considerable recast. In the *Cārudatta* the *Vidūṣaka*, who even in his sleep is still concerned about the casket that has been entrusted to him and who, therefore, is afraid that a burglar is breaking into the house, says to *Cārudatta*: *mama bamhattanēṇa sāvido si, jāṇa gaphasi*. This thief *Sajjalaka* hears this and replies: *kim atra śapathaparigra-*

16. See in general for the relations between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* G. MORGENTHAU, *Ueber das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭikā* (1920) and SUTRANKAR, *JAOS.* 42, 59, and for this passage in particular MORGENTHAU, p. 54f.



kena? Eṣa pratigṛhṇāmi, "No need of imprecations. Look here, I accept it already".<sup>17</sup> In the Mṛcchakaṭikā this is replaced by the following text: (Vidūṣakaḥ) Bho valīssa, sāvido si gobamhaṇakāmāe, jāi edaṁ suvaṇṇa-bhaṇḍaṁ na geṇhasi. (Śarvilakaḥ) Anatikramaṇīyā bhagavatī gokāmyā brāhmaṇakāmyā ca. Tad gṛhṇāmi. It is not surprising that the commentaries (e.g., Lalla Dikshita's in Gobbole's edition) and the modern translations betray some embarrassment. The first thing that strikes us is that -kāmāe, which is the reading of almost all manuscripts, is not the Prakrit equivalent of -kāmyeyā. Formally it can only correspond to Skt. *kāmayā*, which word, though mainly occurring in the Mhbh. must be a late representative of the Vedic category of adverbs in -yā, see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, Altind. Gramm. III, 76. It is only used in the phrase *kāmayā (pra)brūhi* "for the love of me tell me".<sup>18</sup> Now the use of -kāmāe in collocation with *sāvido si* is certainly quite uncommon, but there can be little doubt that it was here intended by the author. This is shown by Śarvilaka's words, which are the conventional reply to a request, cf., e.g., Śāk. VI. 36, 1 *anatikramaṇīyā divaspater ājñā*, II. 3. 3 *anatikramaṇīyaṁ (me) suhṛdvākyaṁ*, II. 17. 19 *itas tapasvikāryaṁ, ito gurujanājñā: ubhayaṁ apy anatikramaṇīyaṁ*. Particularly interesting in this respect is Mhbh. III. 205. 19 ff.:

*yeṇa karmavipākēna prāpteyaṁ śūdratā tvayā 19*  
*etad icchāmi vijñātuṁ tattvena hi mahāmāte*  
*kāmayā brūhi me tathyaṁ sarvaṁ tvaṁ prayatātmavān 20*

(Vyādha uvāca)

*anatikramaṇīyā hi brāhmaṇā vai dvijottama*  
*śṛṇu sarvaṁ idaṁ vṛttaṁ pūrvadehe mama 'nagha 21*

We are bound to conclude, therefore, that *gobamhaṇakāmāe* means, not "by the wishes of cows and brahmans" (RYDER), but "for the love of cows and brahmans". On the other hand it is clear that the word must be construed with *sāvido si* as it corresponds to *mama bamhattaṇeṇa sāvido si* in the Cāru-datta. The fact should be stressed that the reason for replacing this word by the somewhat strange expression *gobamhaṇakāmāe* was not a dislike of the other form of imprecation for elsewhere Śūdraka uses a similar expression, cf. V. 39. 1 *savāmi bamhaṇ (ṇ) eṇa* (: *śape brāhmaṇyena*).

17. Since the use of *eṣa* implies that Sajjalaka is talking to the sleeping Vidūṣaka, I follow for the expression *śopathapari-graha*-the translation by A. C. WOOLNER and Lakshman SASTRI (London 1930). The meaning "śopath" which Amara assigns to *pari-graha*-may perhaps be based on this employment of the word.

18. E.g., Mhbh. crit. ed. II. 16. 51, III. 147. 22, 176. 2. In the smaller Petrop. Diet. BÖRTLINGER replaced this translation by "frankly" (similarly MACDONELL, Skt.-Engl. Dict.). He seems to have overlooked the passages III. 262. 37 *pra-brūhi prcchataḥ / kāmayā kim idaṁ citraṁ* and III. 281. 11. *kāmayā brūhi me deva*.



Śarvilaka's words confront us with the problem of *-kāmyā*. This makes it necessary first to view the facts in their historical perspective. In the Vedic language we find *-kāmyā* used exclusively as the final member of compounds with the meaning "from desire of—" (e.g., *putrakāmyā* Ath. S. VI. 81. 3). The corresponding words in epic Sanskrit of the type *putrakāmyayā* (Rām. Kālid.) obviously continue the Vedic forms but have been adapted to the instrumental form of the feminine stems in *-ā*. A further step was taken when this instrumental form *kāmyayā* came to be used also as an independent word, e.g., *nā 'rthaloḥhān na kāmyayā* Mhbh. II. 178. 34 Bo. Since this word is unknown in the older language, there can be no doubt as to its having been deduced from the compounds. In continuance of the traditional employment of this word it is occasionally used with an objective genitive, which accordingly stands for a compound. The sole instance quoted in the Petrop. Dict. is *pāṇigrūhasya kāmyayā* Mhbh. XIII. 44. 52 Bo. Alongside of it, however, there is one instance of a subjective genitive in *brāhmaṇānāṃ ca kāmyayā* "in consequence of a wish of brahmins" Manu 5. 27, which was paraphrased a few centuries later by *drījakāmyayā* in Yājñavalkya 1. 179. Here, accordingly, a new type of compound has arisen on the base of *kāmyayā* with a subjective genitive. Manu himself had already used such a compound in *itaretarakāmyayā* 3. 35. These are the only instances of this type of a compound in *-kāmyayā* that are recorded in the Petrop-Dict.

This rather circumstantial exposition was necessary because an analysis of the historical development alone enables us to appreciate the artificial character of *brāhmaṇakāmyā* "wish of a Brahman" in the Mrcch. We can also understand why Böhtlingk felt compelled to render the sentence as follows: "Diese hehre Liebe zu Kühen und Brahmanen darf ich nicht unberücksichtigt lassen". This cannot be correct, of course, for, first, *kāmyā* never means "love" and, second, both the context and the parallel passage Mhbh. III. 215. 21 show that the meaning must be that Śarvilaka had to comply with the wish of a Brahman. There can be no doubt, however, that this expression was uncommon and that Śūdraka himself was quite aware of it, for at the end of the same monologue which begins with the words *anatīkramaṇīyā bhagavati gokāmyā brāhmaṇakāmyā* ca Śarvilaka paraphrases them with *idānīm karomi brāhmaṇasya praṇayam* and a few lines further (III. 18. 30) he repeats this sentence again with the words *anatīkramaṇīyo 'yaṃ brāhmaṇapraṇayaḥ; tad grhītam*. This, accordingly, the author considered the normal expression.

The coincidence of two unusual words in one passage is evidently due to Śūdraka's wish to introduce a pun. Śarvilaka intentionally misinterprets the imprecation *gobrahmaṇakāmā* as *gobrahmaṇakāmyayā* and says to himself "Well, the sacred wishes of cows and Brahmins have to be complied with". We may conclude, therefore, that the use of the nominative has been



induced here by the preceding instrumental (as Sarvilaka chose to understand it). Obviously it would have been impossible for Śūdraka to have used the nominative form (created, no doubt, merely for the sake of this pun), unless a preceding instrumental justified this use. The fact that *-kāmāe* (*kāmayā*) could be taken as such explains the strange combination *sāvīdo si -kāmāe*. Even so the word *brāhmayakāmyā* needed an explication. This implies that there is no evidence in classical Sanskrit for the existence of a word *kāmyā*. The sole form that really existed was *(-)kāmyayā*. The question arises, then, if *āsvakāmyā* and *śtrikāmyā* in the formula of Jaim. Br. I. 98 and II. 363 may also have been occasional formations that were deduced in like manner from the Vedic adverbs in *-kāmyā*.

9. A direct proof of it cannot be adduced but the origin of the adverbs in *-kāmyā* turns out to be quite clear if also *āsvakāmyā* and *śtrikāmyā* are taken as secondary formations. As a matter of fact, the words of the type *putrakāmyā* "from desire of a son" may belong to the class of adverbs in *-yā* (e.g., *ṛta-yā*, *amu-yā*, etc., see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, Altind. Gramm. III, 76). The explanation of *-yā* in *-kāmyā* as a simplification of *-yayā*, which was envisaged by WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER p. 117, is no doubt correct but, if these forms have been adverbial from the outset, it is possible to derive, e.g., *\*putrakāmyāyā* from a neuter abstract noun *\*putrakāmya-*, n. It should be noted that in the oldest texts *vyddhi* was not yet required for this type of formation, see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, op. c. II, 2, 817 f.

These neuter nouns are, again, derivatives of adjectives like *putrā-kāma-* Ath. S. (: adv. *putrakāmyā* Ath. S.), *dhānakāma-* Ath. S. (: adv. *dhanakāmyā* Ath. S.), *yātkāma-* Ath. S. (: adv. *yatkāmyā* Śat. Br.), Haplogy in the instrumental forms of the feminine stems in *-yā* is a well-known phenomenon in the Vedic language, e.g., *vidyā* for *vidyayā* (see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, op. c. III, 116). The same simplification has already been recognized also in some adverbs in *-yā*, cf. *madhyā* for *\*madhya-yā*. The adverbs in *-kāmyā*, accordingly, are merely a fresh instance of the same phenomenon.

This explanation is corroborated by fresh evidence from a different linguistic area. Abstract nouns of the type *\*vittakāmya-* are common, not only in Vedic (e.g., *duṣvāpnya-* RS., *duṣvapnaya-* Ath. S.) but also in Avestan, e.g., *isha-xshathrya-* (from *\*xshathra-*), *xshaēstō*, *puhrya-* (from *\*puhrya-*), *thri-gāmya-* (from *\*thri-gāma-*: *gāman-*), etc. See also WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 106 f. On the other hand, Avestan also preserves some traces of adverbs in *-yā* (mostly written *-ya*, which is merely graphical), e.g. *ashaya*: Ved. *ṛta-yā*; *vaya* (graphical for *\*ubayā*): Ved. *ubha-yā*. So the question arises if also Avestan adverbs corresponding to the Vedic type *put-*



*rakāmyā* may be found. This is actually the case. In the well-known Hōm Yasht we read the following lines (Yasna 9. 24):

haomō tōmciṭ yim kərəsānīm  
apa. xshathrōm nishādhayaṭ  
yō raosta xshathrōkāmya  
yō davata....

which may be read in its Old Iranian form approximately as follows:

[haumah tamcit yam kṛsānim  
aparshathram nishādayat  
yah r(a)usta xshathrakāmyayā  
yah davata...]

"Hauma expelled him from his reign, viz. Kṛsāni, who wailed from desire of his reign, who spoke....". In my transposition of the reading of the MSS *xshathrōkāmya* I have followed the indications of the metre which requires three syllables for *-kāmya*. Two prominent manuscripts, it is true, read *-kāmya* (Pt<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub>) but if we should accept this variant we should have to assume a feminine noun *-kāmyā*, which is very unlikely. Moreover *-ya* is very frequently miswritten as *-aya*. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* 546, disregards the metre and takes the word as an instrumental form of *xshathra-kāmyā*, f. (with the old instr. ending *-ā* for *-ayā*). From a viewpoint of noun-formation, however, an abstract noun *xshathra-kāmyā*, f. derived from an adjective *\*xshathra-kāma-* "desirous of power" would be as unparalleled in Avestan as it is in Sanskrit. In this case, too, all difficulties are removed by taking *\*xshathra-kāmya-yā* as an adverb that is derived from *\*xshathra-kāmya*, n. "desire of power." As the metre indicates, the reading *-kāmya* is not due to haplology (as it is in Vedic) but is merely graphical. The non-vocalized text, from which the Avestan vulgate text must have been transcribed, must have read *-k'myy'*. In such cases the older texts seems as a rule to have written the double consonant singly. Many textual errors have arisen from this habit, see e.g., BARTHOLOMAE, *Grundriss iran. Philol.* I § 268: sub 49 & 58, § 304, c 40, Zum altiran. Wörterbuch 129 ff., MEILLET, *Journ. as.* 1920 I, 193.

10. Our preceding observations apparently point to the following conclusions: Compound abstract nouns in *-kāmya-* date from the common Indo-Iranian period. From the same period hails the use of adverbial expressions in *-kāmyayā*. In Sanskrit this was simplified to *-kāmyā* at least as early as the Ath. S. Since then, these words were no longer analysable, which induced the substitution of *-kāmyayā* for it (Manu, Mhbh.) and the occa-



sional use of a noun *-kāmyā* (Jaim. Br., Mṛch.). Is it unreasonable, then, to suppose that in an analogous way the *sūtrakāras*, when they felt the need of an abstract noun that expressed the idea of *\*yāthākāmyā* have deduced a nominative form *yāthākāmī* from the adverb? The circumstance that this form has remained restricted to the idiom of the *Sūtras* alone points to the conclusion that it was a technical term. This is also indicated by the fact that no other nouns in *-kāmī* exist in Sanskrit: the importance which the notion of "optional acts" had for these specialists sufficiently explains why for the expression of this notion alone the need of a specific term was felt.

If the line of the historical development has been *yāthākāmam*; *yāthā-kāmyam*; *\*yāthākām(ya)yā*: *yāthākāmī*, this also explains that by the side of *ānupūrvām*: *ānupūrvyam* an adverb *ānupūrvyā* and a noun *ānupūrvī* were created. Their late occurrence renders it probable that they are analogical formations but our deficient documentation does not allow us to trace this development with a sufficient degree of certainty. The reading *yāthā-kāmī* (Kāśikā ed. Pāp. 5. 1. 123) against *yāthākāmya-*, vārtt. on 8. 1. 66 is no doubt corrupt.

11. In this way the correlation of nouns in *-ya-* and *-ī-* must have come into being. Pāṇini sanctioned it (5. 1. 123 f.) and in accordance with his rule late classical authors created *ābhijātī-*, *vaidagdhī-*, *vaiduṣī-* and *vaiḥālī-* as variants of abstract nouns in *-ya-*. Although *sāmagrī-*, for *sāmagrya-* is also a late word in Sanskrit, the existence of *sāmaggī-* in Pāli and Prakrit seems to indicate that this type of derivation was also known in the Prakrits. The early occurrence of *maitrī-*, however, remains unexplained. In general, the specifically Buddhist terms in *-ī* may require a different explanation. Cf. BHSkt. *pāripūrī-*, etc.

From this point of view there is nothing particular in the words *cāturī-* and *mādhurī-*. They are sufficiently explained if we regard them as artificial formations that have been created on the base of *cāturya-* and *mādhurya-* according to Pāṇini's rule. Still, I have some hesitation in accepting this as our final conclusion. As a rule that scientific theory is accepted which accounts for the largest number of facts in the simplest way. The process of historical development, however, is often anything but simple: so a simple theory may fail to do justice to the total complex of facts which have constituted the historical reality. There remain two questions: first, Is *cāturīya-* only an incidental aberration or has it anything to do with the late appearance of *cāturī-*?; and, second, Is the productiveness of these nouns in *-ī-* in the late classical literature only a reflex of the highly artificial character of this literature, or may it have been stimulated by the coincidence of a similar type of abstract nouns existing in New Indo-Aryan? I must leave it to specialists of early NIA. to answer these questions.



2. *Gartapūrtiḥ* "udarapūraṇam", Gopāl. 68, 23 & 25.

In the Veda *pūrtā-* and *pūrti-* are synonyms and denote that which is given as a present to the priest (cf. WINDISCH, Festgruss an Otto Böhtlingk, p. 117). As has been pointed out by BLOOMFIELD, Am. Journ. Phil. 17, 499, *dakṣiṇā-* is "employed as a complete synonym of the *pūrtam*". At the outset those gifts may have mainly consisted of *odaṇā-*, the porridge, but this is no sufficient reason for assuming a primary meaning "the filling of the stomach", as BLOOMFIELD (p. 110) does on account of a problematical etymology and in view of such passages as RS. 10. 86. 14 *kukṣā prṇanti*, which however have nothing in common with *pūrtā-*. As a matter of fact, the only meaning to be inferred from the texts is "gift". The words are etymologically unrelated to *pṛ-* "to fill", but are derivatives of a different root *pṛ-* "to give" (cf. Ved. *pūrdhi* "give!").<sup>1</sup>

In the later language, however, these synonyms have developed totally different senses. If we leave aside the use of *pūrta-* as a synonym of *pūrṇa-* "full" in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and, it seems, in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita 13. 90, we find *pūrta-* in the classical language used in the specialized sense of *vāpikūpādismārtakarma* (see WINDISCH 117, BLOOMFIELD 410, and the Petrop. Dict.). The same meaning is also recorded for *pūrttam* in Tamil, *pūrta* in Marathi, *pūrta* in Kannada, etc. A compound form *āpūrta-* occurs as a variant reading in some edd. of the Kādambarī, see A. A. M. SCHARPE, Bāṇa's Kādambarī, p. 405. Save for the two exceptions just mentioned, the meanings "filled, full, complete, fulfilment, fullness, completion, satiety, satisfaction", which are given for Kann. *pūrta* are unknown in Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas *pūrtā-*, accordingly, essentially preserves its original meaning, *pūrti-*, on the contrary, after having vanished from use in the later Vedic period, reappears in the late classical literature in the totally new sense of *pūraṇam* "filling". Cf.:

*racitadigantarālapūrtiḥ kṛtyā* Daśak. 1, 1 Ag. (Pūrvapīṭhikā!).

*ruciramūrtiḥ surājoḡṇasampūrtir asāv arbhako* Daśak. 8, 12 Ag. (Pūrvapīṭhikā!).

*paripūrtiḥ* Bālarāmāyaṇa 67, 10 (c. 900); also in Schol. on RVPrāt. 2. 42 and in BHSkt. (see EDGERTON'S Dictionary 327, 365).

*naleṣṭāpūrtasampūrti-* "accomplishment of sacrifices and donations by Nala" Naiṣadhac. 17. 160.

1. See Acta Orientalia 15, 313-326.

2. Cf. also Mar. *pūrta* "completed, perfected", Hi. *pūrt(a)* "complete, covered".



*tapartupūrtiāu* *api* Naiṣadhac. 1. 41 "completion, end" (comm.: *grīṣmapūraṇe* 'pi).

*darśapūrti*- Jyotiṣa (quoted in the Petr. D. from Weber's transl.).  
*pūrtikāma*- Bhāgav. Pur. (see below).

*pratipūrti*- Lalita Vistara (see EDGERTON, p. 365) and the later lexicographical works (since the 12th century: Hemacandra and Medinīkośa).

In the Gopālakelīcandrikā it occurs thrice, viz.:

*gartapūrtiḥ* 68, 23 & 25 (in the sense of *udarapūraṇam* Pañcat.)

*etatpūrtaye mām †namaskuruta* 123, 7 "for the fulfilment of that wish you should worship me".

*tava kelipūrtaye* 135, 2.

Cf. Hi. *pūrti* "fullness, completion", Mar. *pūrti* "idem, satiety, satisfaction", Tamil *pūrti* "wholeness, fullness, completeness, satisfaction", *kaṇṭapūrti* "satiety", *campūrti* "fullness, completion, etc."

There can be no doubt that class. *pūrti*- is the same word as Vedic *pūrti*- "gift", its new sense being due to a misinterpretation of the Vedic word. It is a well-known fact that many words, which are in common use in Classical Sanskrit, owe their specific sense to the Veda-interpretation of Yāska and the later tradition of the commentators. This tradition was so powerful that many old Vedic words that were revived in the classical language thus came to be used in a sense quite different from the original one.<sup>3</sup>

As a matter of fact, Sāyaṇa as a rule derives both *pūrti*- and *pūrtā*- from the root *pṛ*- "to fill", e.g.:

X. 22, 9 *pūrtāyo: kāmānām pūraṇam, īpsitārthapradānam.*

VI. 13, 6 *pūrtim: kāmānām pūrtim.*

VI. 16, 18 *te pūrtām: tvadīyaṁ pūrakam tejah* (with reference to Agni).

VIII. 46, 21 *pūrtām: pūṇam.*

These renderings are based upon Dhātupāṭha 3, 4 and 9, 19 (*pṛ*- "*pālanapūraṇayoh*"), whose definition is due to the fact that no memory had been preserved of the former existence of a root *pṛ*- "to give", while the old Indo-Iranian phrase *kāmam pṛ*- "to fulfill a wish" could suggest the idea that the meaning of *pūrtā* and *pūrti*- was only a metaphorical extension of the sense

3. See RENOU, Journ. As. 1939, pp. 321-404.

of "filling". That Sāyaṇa's interpretations are actually based upon the Dhātupāṭha can hardly be doubted in view of X. 107. 3, where *pūrti-* is rendered by *pālīnī*.

We may conclude, therefore, that the meaning of *pūrti-* which most dictionaries take as the original one, is only secondary and artificial in its origin. The same is true of *pūrtikāma-* in Bhāg. Pur. 10. 22. 20

*ity acyutenābhikṛtā vṛjābalā*  
*matvā vivastrāplavanam vṛtacyutim*  
*tatpūrtikāmās tadaśeṣakarmamām (etc.)*

where it means "wishing to fulfil that (*vṛata*)", as compared with the Vedic passage whence it has been taken, viz. Ath. S. VII. 103. 1cd. *kó yá jñācāmaḥ ká u pūrtikāmaḥ kó devéṣu vanute dīrghām āyuh* "who that desires sacrifice, or who that desires bestowal? who wins long life-time among the gods?" (WHITNEY). This is accordingly a fresh instance of an artificial archaism in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which may be added to those discussed by WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gramm. I, p. LI and by F. J. MEYER, Zeitschr. f. Indologie und Iranistik 8 (1931), 33 ff. Another instance is found in Nepali, where *pūrti* "filling, completing, effective" is obviously the revived Vedic word *pūrtin-* (see TURNER, Nepali Dictionary s.v.). In the Veda, however, this word is only once used in an artificial analysis of *iṣṭāpūrtin-*, cf. Taitt. S. I. 7. 3. 3 *yajñāna vā iṣṭi, pakvāna pūrti, yāsyainām vidūṣo 'nvāhāryā āhriyāte, sá tvēreṣṭāpūrti* "by the sacrifice he is an *iṣṭin* (one who has sacrificed), by the cooked food he is a *pūrtin* (one has given gifts). He who knowing thus brings the Anvāhārya, is one who has accomplished at once sacrifice and gifts".<sup>4</sup> Similarly Kāth. VIII. 13 (: 67, 3),<sup>5</sup> Kap. K. S. VIII. 1 (: 80, 8).

The preceding observations are based on the assumption that Vedic *pṛ-* "to give" (from I.E., \**per-H<sub>3</sub>-*, Greek *époron*) is actually different from *pṛ-* "to fill" (I.E., \**pel-H<sub>1</sub>-*, Latin *ple-o*). It must be admitted, however, that many verbs are used in the R̥gveda in the sense "to give" although their primary meaning is totally different. It might be argued, therefore, that the meaning "give" of the imperative *pūrdhi* is a "psychological phenomenon" just as in the case of *śiśāti*, etc.<sup>6</sup> Most of these verbs, however, have this meaning only in a special context and leave no doubt as to their proper meaning. On the other hand, *pṛ-* "to give" is marked off from *pṛ-* "to fill" by special morphological features; it is further consistently used in this sense exclusively, not only as

4. KERN's translation (p. 100) of *pūrtin-* as "satisfying" is against the Vedic usage.

5. Misunderstood by SMITH in his Index. The correct interpretation was given in the Petrop. Dict.

6. See in general RASOU, J. As. 1939, 371, n. 2.



regards the verbal forms derived from it, but also in its derivatives *pāpuri*-, *pāpri*- "bestowing" and *pūrtā*- *pūrti*- "bestowal", while there is no indication to show that it originally had a different meaning.

I take the opportunity to add a few remarks on the Vedic root *pṛ*-. I shall not dwell upon the explanations proposed for Pa. *p(h)uṣṭha*-, *phuṣa*- (from \**pūrta*- "filled" A. MASTER, BSOAS. 11, 303) and for Bashkarik *čipuṣ*, *čipuṣ* "full" (from \**pratipūrta*-, MORGENSTIERNE, Acta Orient. 18, 230), although the last word reminds us of a large group of Munda and NIA. words, such as Santali *cepel* "brimful, to fill brimful", Nep. *chāpo-chāp* "filling to the brim" and *nimṭho* "brimful" (: \* *ciṭho*, like *neṭto* : *ceṭto* "flat-nosed"). More important in this connection is the Vedic word *pūramdhi*- "donation" which is an Indo-Iranian noun-formation based upon an earlier expression \**pūram* *dadhāti*; cf. Avestan *pārēndi*- [\**parandi*].

This points to the existence of a root noun *pur*-, which seems to be attested also in two compounds in Ath. S. XVIII. 2. 28cd *parāpūro nipūro yé bhāranty agniṣ ṭān asmāt prā dhamāti yajñāt*. Unfortunately their meaning has not yet been ascertained. This funeral verse is directed against *dāsyus*, who are supposed to have "entered among the Fathers": "who bear *parāpūr* and *nipūr*—Agni shall blast them forth from this sacrifice". The verb *pṛ*- is also composed with *ni*- as a technical term for gifts for the Fathers. It recurs in the same funeral hymn (XVIII. 2. 30) *yām te dhenūm niprṇāmi, yām u te kṣirā odanām* and in XVIII. 4. 42 *yām te manthām yām odanām yām mānsām niprṇāmi te*, while the Sūtras have one instance of *niprṇomi* (*niprṇuyāt* Lāṭy.). The participle is *nipūrta*- (Pāt. ad Pāṇ. 7. 1. 102), for which Āśv. Ś 2. 7. 1 has the uncorrect form *niprta*-,<sup>8</sup> and the nomen actionis is *niparāṇa*-, n. (Nirukta, Comm. on Āśv. Ś.). Compounds with *ni*- in connection with the Manes are well-known, cf. e.g., Śāk. VI. 27 *ko naḥ kule nivapanāni niyacchati*. For this reason Avestan *nipārayeiti* can hardly be related to it, although it is sometimes used in an analogous way, cf. *āvhaṃ zaōthranam... yā māvōya nipārayiati* "of these libations which they offer to me" (Yasht 17. 54).

There is, however, another Avestan word which seems to be derived from *pṛ*-"to give", viz. *xvāpara*- "salutary, beneficial". Since Av. *xvā*- is frequently used in the sense of Skt. *su*- (cf. Skt. *sva-stha*:- *su-ṣṭhú*) *xvāpara*- may represent Skt. \**su*-*para*- "well-giving".<sup>9</sup>

7. "Geschenkschaffung" P. THOMAS, Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda (1949), p. 33, n. 3.

8. In *niprān anumantrayeta* (comm. *niprātān eva pipdān anumantrayeta*). For this passage see H. OSMER, The Syntax of Cases 1, 229.—Note also *nispūrta*- Mibh. 7. 22. 39. Bomb.

9. A different explanation of *xvāpara*- has recently been proposed by BENVENISTE, Asiatique (Festschr. Weller) p. 34: Ved. *pr*-"to protect, save."



3. *Naṭ-* "to tremble, totter", Gop. 53, 9.

Jayanta, wandering about in the forest in search of Kṛṣṇa, complains of his exhaustion in the following stanza (p. 53, line 8 ff.).

*sthānam nodyahate kaṭiḥ, kaṭutarair nādair vinasṭe śruti  
pādaḥ me naṭataḥ, paṣo 'pi vigataḥ, kāṣṭhāyitaḥ me vapuḥ /  
bhrāmam bhrāmam ahaṁ nagendragahana-droniṣu nidrāyito  
dronibhūtatanur nate hi śirasi droṇaudanam bibhrataḥ //.*

"My hip does not support me, my ears are deafened by the harsh sounds, my feet totter, my cloth is lost, my body is like a piece of wood. While roaming about in the valleys of the mountain-forests I have become drowsy. Owing to my bearing a *drona* (vessel) of rice-milk on my bowed head, my body has itself become a *droni* (valley, chasm)."

The last line is grammatically incorrect: obviously the author intended to use an adjective *dronibhūtatanuḥ*, parallel to *nidrāyitaḥ*. A similar compound is met with in line 35: *khañjibhūtapādo*. At the end of the line, however, he construes *bibhrataḥ* as though *dronibhūtā tamīḥ* preceded. As for *nidrāyita-*, it may be noted in passing that it does not mean "sleeping" (CALAND, p. 16, SCHMIDT, Nachträge zum Sanskrit Wörterb.). Cf. line 15: *pītvā pattrapuṭiḥ, sūptvā, tato gacchāmi keśavam*.

Lexicographically more important, however, is the use of *naṭ-* in *pādaḥ me naṭataḥ* "my feet totter". Apparently the author Rāmakṛṣṇa here uses the Sanskrit verb in a sense which may have been familiar to him from New Indo-Aryan but which is quite unknown in Sanskrit; cf. Kaśm. *naṭun* "to tremble", Beng. *naṛā* "to shake", Oriya *naṛa-naṛa* "shaking".<sup>1</sup> These verbs are usually derived from Skt. *naṭ-* "to dance",<sup>2</sup> but their divergent meaning, as well as the occurrence of apparently cognate words in Dravidian points to a different conclusion. As instances of these similarities in Dravidian may be quoted Kannada *naḍaka* "trembling", *naḍuka* "trembling, shivering, shaking, tremor, fear", *naḍugu* "trembling, shivering, tremor", *naḍa naḍagu* "to tremble much", Tamil *naṭuṅku-* "to shake, tremble, tremble through fear, to falter, waver" (*naṭukku* "to shiver, cause to quiver, etc."), *naṭu- naṭuṅku-* "to tremble greatly through fear", *naṭuṅkal* "dread, fear", Telugu *naḍuku* (meaning?), Tulu *naḍuguni*. The root *naḍuk/g-*, *naḍuṅg-* contained in these words is an extension of *naḍ-*, cf. Tam. *naḍalai* "trembling, shaking".

1. See TURNER, *Nepali Dictionary*, s.v. *naḍnu*.

2. However, S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (1926), 497 rightly classes *naṭ* "move" among words which are probably of *deśi* origin.



Since no analogous words occur (as far as I am aware) in Santali and Sora (which are the best-known representatives of resp. the Kherwari and the Southern group of Munda) or in Burushaski, the possibility of borrowing from Dravidian has to be seriously considered, the more so as a root extension of the type *naḍ-: naḍu (ṇ)g- naḍukk-* is typically Dravidian.

The verb *naṭati* "trembles" should accordingly be dissociated from *naṭati* "dances". For the latter verb, also, a foreign origin has been suggested, the main reason being that in view of the rather frequent interchange of initial *l-* and *n-* it seemed unlikely that, e.g., Mat. *naṭvā* "a rope-dancer, tumbler, buffoon, actor, dancer", Hindi *naṭ (u) wā*, id., should have to be separated from Skt. lex. *laṭva-*, m. "*jātiviśeṣaḥ; neṭuyā iti bhāṣā*" (Śabdakalpadrūma), as *neṭuyā* is stated to mean "dancing-boy". On the other hand, although *laṭva-* may be a rather late word, its *l-* cannot easily be explained as a development from *n-*, since we find in the Uṇādisūtra *laṣva-*, m. (and *liṣva-* in the commentary), which according to Ujvaladatta means "dancer". There may be difference of opinion as to how this interchange of *ṣ : ṭ* is to be accounted for, but the problematical character of the interpretation of this fact does not justify our denying the existence of the fact as such. If we may rely upon these data of the lexicographical works and upon the meaning assigned to them, we are led to assume the existence of a word \**naṭu-a* \**laṭu-a* \**neṭu-a* \**laṣu-ā* \**liṣu-a* for "dancer", which can hardly be dissociated from Skt. *lāsa-*, "dance", *lāsayati* "causes to dance". Now the occurrence of several interchanges of consonants and vowels in one and the same word (viz. *n : l, ṭ : ṣ : s*, and *a : i : e*) points decidedly to the conclusion that *naṭvā* etc. are loan-words from one or more non-Aryan languages, which, again, implies that the traditional explanation of *naṭ-* as a Prakritic development of Skt. *ṇṭ-* would have to be abandoned.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear, indeed, how these facts might be explained in case one prefers to maintain the traditional derivation from *ṇṭ-*. Analogous questions which might be raised with regard to *naṭ-* "tremble" will not be discussed here.<sup>4</sup>

3. See Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterk. N. R. 14, 5 (p. 24, n. 3) and cf. Proto-Munda Words 116.

4. It may be noted that by the side of Beng. *naṭā* "to move, stir, budge, flinch, to shake, to totter" there occur also such echo-words as *naṭāṭhāṭā* "a moving or stirring about", *naṭṭhāṭ* "a move, a stir", while on the other hand we find in Hindi *ṭharṭharāṇā* "to tremble", *ṭharṭharāṇaṭ* "shivering", *ṭharṭhar* "shuddering, trembling", *ṭharakṇā* "to tremble with fear." (Cf. Mar. *ṭharṭharṇē*, *ṭherṭharāt*, *ṭharṭhar*, *ṭharakṇē*, respectively).

## ZERO AND PĀNINI

BY

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In reading contemporary linguistic statements one encounters the term 'zero' in so many and diverse contexts that one may be forgiven for wondering whether its use may not be exceeded by its abuse. It is certainly true, as a recent paper has suggested, that 'we may not have succeeded yet in clearly stating the conditions in which it is legitimate to speak of the presence of an element zero'.<sup>1</sup> To this one might add the suggestion that in no particular case is it essential to employ the concept at all; and that its use arises only from the requirements of generalization. Before proceeding to expand this view it will be necessary to outline certain basic assumptions.

At the several places in a given grammatical structure one sets up appropriate systems to give value to the elements of that structure;<sup>2</sup> in a simple example we might have a three-place structure comprising the elements:—

1	2	3
Prefix	Root	Suffix,

which might be said to constitute a Verb—which in turn could be an element of a more inclusive (e.g. sentence) structure. At each place in the Verb structure a system would be established, the specification of whose terms would give value to the element in question; thus:—

At place 1 may be established a (closed) Prefix system of, say, 5 terms;

At place 3 may be established a (closed) Suffix system of, say, 10 terms;

At place 2 may be established an (open) Root system which may run to hundreds of terms and be indefinitely extendable.

When speaking of their syntagmatic relations, terms in systems will also be referred to as units in structure. For each combination of units (e.g. Prefix<sub>3</sub> Root<sub>174</sub> Suffix<sub>7</sub>) there will be a corresponding phonological statement. The various phonological statements, which in this case (by a combination of

1. W. HAAS, *TPS*, 1954, p. 77, n. 1.

2. *CL BSOAS*, 1954, xvi/3, p. 556, n. 2.



grammatical and phonological criteria) might be said to constitute 'words', could then be listed in a lexicon.

These, however, would be excessively numerous, and it is traditional to reduce the number of entries by a process of factorization. This is facilitated by the circumstance that it is possible in many cases, and particularly (and fortunately for the lexicographer) in the case of the Root system, to correlate the presence of a given term in the system with a more or less constant unit or complex of units in the phonological statement. In such cases it is possible to avoid repeating this particular 'bit'<sup>3</sup> of the phonological statement for every combination involving the grammatical unit in question; a generalized formula may be given (cf. 'assibilated plurals', 'dental preterites'), and more or less general rules may be established for the conversion of the lexical formula to actual phonological statement (= 'internal sandhi').

A common consequence of this procedure (and universal in the case of Roots) is that the terms of the grammatical systems come to be designated by the generalized formulae for their corresponding phonological bits (instead of the more ineffable 'P(refix)<sub>3</sub>' etc.; as, for example, in Sanskrit: 'The nominal suffix -akā' instead of the Pāṇinian 'ṛvuc'). Therein lies a temptation, by which many have been beguiled, to confuse the two levels of statements.

It should further be noted that these bits of phonological word-structures, whether more or less generalized, do not necessarily constitute phonological structures in the usual sense of the term. When the grammatical structure is of more than one element, any one bit cannot generally constitute a word-structure; and it is probably the exception rather than the rule for a bit to constitute a sub-word structure in the sense of having e.g. a syllabic composition, whether of one or more syllables. The non-structural nature of the bit is underlined by the necessity, indulged by e.g. Zellig HARRIS, of recognizing 'discontinuous morphemes' consisting of non-contiguous phonemic sequences';<sup>4</sup> such statements are generally made for major (e.g. sentence) structures—HARRIS quotes concord in Latin as an example: but they could apply also within the word—e.g. 'reduplicated perfects' in Greek or Sanskrit; or the 'infix root' and 'split negative' in a Caucasian language such as Abaza, where in e.g. *ygʷamwəd*, 'it was unsuccessful', the bits corresponding to the grammatical units R 'succeed' and Neg. are respectively -a...w- and -gʷ...m-.

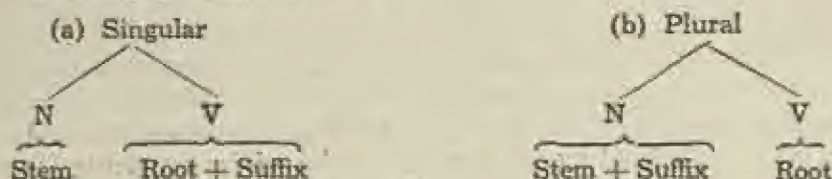
3. Hereafter used as a technical term.

4. *Methods in Structural Linguistics*, pp. 165ff., 182ff.

The bit (*alias* 'morpheme'), then, is not structured and has no phonological status divorced from the word of which it is a bit; it is 'bound', but it is not a 'bound form', since it is not a 'form' in the sense that the word is a 'free' one. It is true that similar considerations apply in theory to the word within the sentence;<sup>5</sup> but there are phonological apart from lexical justifications for treating the word as a structure. These are concerned not so much with 'Grenzsignale', which provide at best partial and confirmatory criteria; nor with the one-word sentence, which in most languages is exceptional; but rather with the fact that it proves to be a relevant piece of the sentence for the statement of prosodic relations (e.g. retroflexion in Sanskrit, the relevant structure for the statement of which is the word;<sup>6</sup> or stress in Abaza, there being only one main stress per word however sesquipedalian). The bit has generally no such prosodic relevance.

The main *raison d'être* of the bit is its inclusion in a lexicon of bits; though it may have phonological significance in so far as bits corresponding to different elements of grammatical structure may require the establishment of different phonological systems (e.g. different C-systems for Prefix-bits and Suffix-bits).

To revert now to zero. W. HAAS has remarked that, "To say that *sheep* in *many sheep* has a 'component' zero 'plural', can only conceal the fact that *sheep* by itself is indeterminate as to being 'singular' or 'plural'".<sup>7</sup> However, *sheep* by itself is not the same as *sheep* in a phrase, clause, or sentence. In the vast majority of sentences of e.g. type N V one could establish a two-term system of number concord, viz:—



And it may be said that to the Suffixal units there corresponds a phonological bit statable in generalized terms as 'assibilantion'.<sup>8</sup> There are, however, cases where the grammatical structure of V, viz. Root (without Suffix), indicates

5. Cf. Bhartṛhari, *Vākya-padīya*, I. 73.

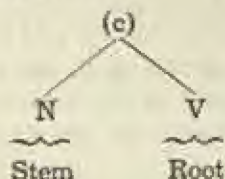
6. Cf. BSOAS, 1954, xvi/3, p. 561, n. 7.

7. *loc. cit.*

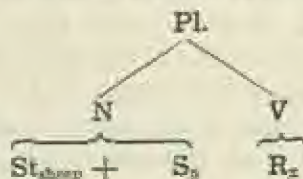
8. Where, as in this case, the sole function of the Suffix is to indicate concord, and the concord has been stated as a property of the sentence, the Suffixal systems can by definition consist only of one term, which may here be designated  $S_n$  (for 'number').



Plural concord, but where the bit corresponding to the N. Suffixal unit is not describable as 'assibilant' (e.g. *oxen*). These cases of course require special statement. But there are also cases (e.g. *sheep*) where there is no corresponding phonological bit. One alternative here is to say that we have a third term in the concord system, viz:—



The other alternative is to maintain the two-term system, and to say that in the case of *sheep* we still have the N structure Stem + Suffix, but that the Suffixal unit has no corresponding phonological bit, i.e. that in



$S_n = 0$  (where  $=$  refers to the correspondence between grammatical and phonological statement). This can take its place beside such statements of exceptions as (for  $St_{ox}$ )  $S_n = n$ ,<sup>9</sup> and involves a greater economy of statement than an expansion of the concord system for a very few cases. One would not, of course, wish to speak of *sheep* having a 'component zero plural', which would be an intolerably confused statement—'*sheep*' would presumably refer to some kind of phonological statement; 'component', if it referred to Suffix, would belong to the grammatical structure of N; 'plural' is a property of the grammatical structure of the sentence; and 'zero' is a terminal of the grammatical-phonological equation ( $S_n = 0$ ).

In fact what linguists generally call "zero" is not the zero (second) terminal of such an equation, but the first. The linguistic "zero" is parallel rather to the fictional quantities employed in algebra, which are ultimately cancelled by the 'antithetic error' (as VAHINGER terms it)<sup>10</sup> of equation with zero. A classical example may make this clear: FERMAT's solution to the problem of dividing a line  $a$  into two parts,  $x$  and  $a - x$ , so that  $x^2(a - x)$  should be a maximum, was to substitute for  $x$  an arbitrary larger part, viz.  $x + e$ ; by equating  $x^2(a - x)$  with  $(x + e)^2(a - x - e)$  he arrived

9. i.e. 'nasalization'.

10. *The Philosophy of As If*, pp. 109ff.

at  $2ax + ae = 3x^2 + 2xe + e^2$ ; and his fiction was then cancelled by the recognition that  $e = 0$ ; the expressions containing  $e$  drop out, and the solution is  $\frac{2a}{3} = x$ .<sup>11</sup>

In linguistics there is no single zero unit; there are various 'zeroizable' units. The use of the term "zero" for the unit itself may, however, find some justification in the arithmetical use of 0. In a number such as 50 the sole function of the 0 is to contribute to the necessary structure within which 5 may occupy the decimal position; the structure is parallel to e.g., 53, but whereas 3 not only occupies a place in the structure, but is also the class of all triads,<sup>12</sup> 0 has no such class function—it is a unit in structure and a term in a system, and nothing more. In the linguistic case considered above there was no special term in a system of which '= 0' was statable, but only certain examples of a term, viz. when in relation with certain specific terms in the St-system, e.g., *St<sub>sheep</sub>*. At the phonological level of statement one seeks to avoid such syntagmatic implications (of which the more general are traditionally classified as "assimilation", 'epenthesis', etc.) by abstracting the relationship as a 'prosody', or property of the whole structure within which it obtains. At the grammatical level, however, the matter is considerably more complex, particularly when the terms of an open system are concerned (as here in the Stem), which may have little or nothing in common except the relation in question (*sheep, deer, aircraft*, etc.). A special term of which one could state '= 0' would only be establishable if we assumed, for example, that in all concords both N and V always include a Suffixal element; it would then be necessary to say of N that in the Plural concord ' $S_n = s$ ', but in the Singular concord that ' $S_n = 0$ '. This, however, one might well hesitate to do, on the grounds that the latter examples would be approximately as numerous as the former, and there would therefore be no particular justification for basing the generalized structure  $St \neq S$  on the former. Such a generalization of the more complex structure without regard to frequency, would be subject to HARRIS' legitimate warning that 'the indiscriminate use of zero segments and void elements can make many different language structures seem sterilely similar';<sup>13</sup> and to NIIDA's criticism that 'the description of a language becomes unduly sprinkled with zeros merely for the sake of structural congruence and balance'.<sup>14</sup>

11. Quoted by VAININGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 113f.

12. By FREGE's definition: cf. RUSSELL, *Hist. of Western Philosophy*, p. 858.

13. *op. cit.*, p. 339, n. 29.

14. *Morphology*, p. 46, n. cf. also HELMSLEV *op. JAKOBSON*, *BCLC*, V, p. 14 ('Des Nullzeichen') and R. GOSSEL, *Cah. de S.*, 11, p. 41 ('La question des signes zéro').



The case would be different, however, if the "zero" term were only one in a comparatively large system. The generalized structure would then be established on the basis of a statistically high majority, and the zero device would be a means of avoiding the recognition of a separate structure for a small minority of cases. This is precisely the manner in which Pāṇini employs zero. The following typifies his method.

For Pāṇini the grammatical category Noun is characterized by a minimal structure

Root + Suffix 1 + Suffix 2,

where Root + Suffix 1 constitutes the Stem, and the Suffix 2 system is that of Case.

In naming the terms of grammatical systems Pāṇini sometimes uses a purely arbitrary label (e.g., *luṅ* = 'Aorist'), and sometimes one derived from the corresponding phonological bit (e.g., *pā* = 'Instr. Si.'): frequently the name is so selected that there is a one-one correspondence between the letters of the name and those of the phonological bit; it can then be assumed that, in the absence of any contrary statement, e.g., the grammatical unit *Sl<sub>tra</sub>* = the phonological bit *tra*. Thus the Pāṇinean grammatical statement of the Acc. Sing. of a certain noun is:—

R	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>
chad	tra	am,

for which the corresponding phonological statement (in phonemic terms is *chattram*.<sup>15</sup> In the conversion of Pāṇinean formulae to phonological statement we encounter the two terms '*sthānin*' and '*ādeśa*'. The first of these, lit. 'having a place', we might expect to refer to the units of the grammatical structure; and the latter, lit. 'specification', to their corresponding phonological bits. But Pāṇini seems to apply the term *sthānin* rather to the generalized phonological formulae, from which the *ādeśa* are then derived by the various processes of sandhi etc.<sup>16</sup> It appears probable that Pāṇini himself may have been confused by the use of phonologically inspired labels for grammatical units; and the traditional translation of Pāṇini's terms by 'original' and 'substitute' respectively suggests a recognition that both belong to the same (phonological) level of statement, and that one is 'prior' to the other. Modern linguists, notably in the U. S. A., have perpetuated this 'process' interpretation of Pāṇini with their epistemologically naive 'basic underlying

15. VI. iv. 97.

16. Cf. BUISKOOL, *The Tripāḍi*, pp. 12ff., 28ff.

forms': this is most clearly demonstrated in BLOOMFIELD's patently Pāṇinian 'Menomini Morphophonemics'.<sup>17</sup>

The question of zero arises for Pāṇini from nominal forms having a phonological statement such as *bhājam*, where the bit *bhāj-* is identifiable as corresponding to the grammatical R unit 'bhaj', and *-am* as corresponding to the  $S_2$  unit 'am': which accounts for the whole of the phonological statement. In order to maintain the generality of the formulae  $R + S_1 + S_2$  for all Nouns, Pāṇini has recourse in such cases to an  $S_1$  unit 'v' (as one in a large system of  $S_1$  terms).<sup>18</sup> Thereafter the fiction is cancelled out by the recognition that 'v = 0'; Pāṇini's actual terminology here is '*lopo voh*',<sup>19</sup> i.e., 'annihilation of v', where '*lopo*' is precisely '= 0'. The use of the label 'v' is convenient, since there is no other  $S_1$  unit thus named.

This device finds a remarkably close parallel in the work of DE SAUSSURE:—<sup>20</sup>

"... une racine, comme telle, ne peut constituer un mot et recevoir l'adjonction directe d'une désinence... Que faut-il alors penser du cas très fréquent où racine et thème de flexion semblent se confondre, comme on voit dans le grec *phlōks*... comparé à la racine *phlōg-*?... N'est-ce pas en contradiction avec la distinction que nous venons d'établir? Non... nous dirons que *phlōg-* "flamme" est un thème à suffixe zéro... le radical reste distinct de la racine, même s'il lui est phoniquement identique".

The examples considered above will have shown that the linguistic device of "zero" is justified only by the requirements of general statement; in order to extend the application of a given grammatical structure, the system established at a place in that structure is made to include a term for which, unlike the other terms, no phonological bit is statable. The device has applications to phonological structure also: the system established at a place in that structure may be made to include a term for which no phonic exponents are statable.<sup>21</sup>

It is evident that an increase in generality may involve a decrease in the "appropriateness" of the statement to the particular case; this price is inevitable, and one must consider carefully whether it is worth paying; but

17. TCLP, VIII, pp. 105ff.

18. III ii, 62 ('*bhojo voh*').

19. VI I 66-7.

20. Cours, p. 255.

21. The device is employed phonologically and discussed in my article 'Aspiration in the Hārāṭī nominal' which it is hoped to publish shortly.



the simple existence of a price should not be a reason for rejecting the transaction. In this matter linguistic "zero" has a parallel in mathematics. For the arithmetical use of 0 might be said to result in statements that are less than optimally appropriate to e.g., the counting of fingers: mathematically 10, as a two-element structure, belongs to the series 11, 12 . . . . etc., and not to the series of one-element structures 1, 2 . . . . 9; this contrasts with the (digitally derived) linguistic system of numeration in e.g., Sanskrit, where *daśa*, as a one-element structure, belongs to the series *eka*, *dva* . . . . *nava*, and not to the series of two-element structures *ekā-daśa*, *dvā-daśa* . . . etc. The mathematical zero falsifies the evidence of fingers and toes (and of everyday language); but that is no ground for condemning its use: it is a small price to pay for the abstract and general calculations that it makes possible.

Finally it may be remarked that Pāṇini nowhere uses the mathematical term for zero<sup>22</sup> (Skt. *śūnyam*, 'vacuum', calqued by the Arabic *ṣifr*, whence 'cipher' and, by another route, 'zero'). In the first place, as already noted, what is generally called "zero" in linguistics is, by comparison with the mathematical use, inappropriately so called—the name is given to the wrong terminal of the equation. And in the second place, Pāṇini was operating with his device of 'lopa' long before any mathematician, possibly even before the establishment of any system of writing;<sup>23</sup> the mathematical zero too was an Indian invention, but our first certain evidence for its use is about a millennium later than Pāṇini.<sup>24</sup> Before the adoption of zero and place-value, mathematicians had employed the device of consonants to indicate number and vowels to indicate value, and of this practice S. R. Das has remarked that, "The study of Sanskrit grammar and metrics seems to have led the mathematical genius of *Āryabhaṭa* to use letters of the Devanagiri alphabet for the sake of brevity";<sup>25</sup> but still "the system required the zero for its perfection"—was this invention also perhaps linguistically inspired?

22. It is perhaps this that causes FREI (ZPh., 1950. 3/4, p. 188, n. 1) to deny to Pāṇini the use of the concept.

23. Cf. ALLEN, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, p. 15; KROEGER, *Anthropology*, p. 533.

24. Cf. GÜNTHER, KZ, 68, 1944, pp. 129ff; FISCHER, ZDMG, LVII, pp. 783ff; SMITH & KARPINSKY, *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, Ch. IV; DATTA & SINGH, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, Part I, pp. 75ff; S. R. DAS, 'The Origin and Development of Numerals', IHQ, III, 1927, pp. 97ff., 358ff.; KIRTHI, *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. xxiii f. (The earlier use of *śūnyam* by Piṅgala, Ch. S. viii. 29ff., seems only to refer to the absence of a particular operation: cf. WEISS, IS, viii, p. 446).

25. *op. cit.*, p. 114.

## INDICA ET IRANICA

BY

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In the work of last century the contribution of the Old Indian vocabulary to the clarification of the Old Iranian texts was of decisive importance. Great part of the Old Iranian vocabulary had been lost and at that time the residue in New Persian and other modern Iranian dialects was insufficient to fill the lacunae. Since that time so much of the Middle Iranian vocabulary has been recovered, partly from the loan-words in neighbouring languages, as Syriac and Armenian, but more particularly from the manuscripts containing the forgotten languages of Parthians, Sogdians and the Scythian tribes of the Saka, together with the recently discovered Old Persian words, that we can expect our Old Indian texts to be illumined in their turn from the Iranian vocabulary. At times a word which occurs once only in Old Indian texts can be shown to belong to a large family of words in Iranian. Thus in an article in memory of the late Professor SCHAYER I have endeavoured to show, *inter alia*, that the isolated Vedic *śinī-* of the Khilāni, variant to *giri-* 'hill', means 'rising ground, hill', and that it attests the verbal base *śan-* 'to rise' in Old Indian, and so belongs with the widespread Iranian verb *san-* 'to rise, raise', which has now been traced in Avestan,<sup>1</sup> and in the Middle Iranian Parthian, Persian, Sogdian and Khotan Saka.

In these few pages to honour Professor SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI I have called attention to other similar groups of words.

### 1. *kram-* 'to thresh'.

Threshing is carried out in three ways, by treading, by beating and by rubbing.<sup>2</sup>

The word for rubbing has provided Kāfiri Waigali *mara-*, *muri-* 'thresh' compared to Aškun *mer-* 'rub'.<sup>3</sup> The beating is found in Ossetic ("New Scythian"), Dığaron *inājun*, Iron *nāj kānyn* 'thresh' when compared with *nād* 'beaten', used as the participle to *nāmun* 'to beat'.<sup>4</sup> The Middle Persian

1. Both as verb, pres. *sana-*, and in the noun *sanaka-*, for which the meaning is 'rising, hill', not, as the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* proposed, 'estuary'.

2. SCHRAEDER-NEHRING, *Reallexikon*, s.v. Dreschen.

3. G. MORGENSTIERNE, *Norsk Tidsskr. Sprogvid.* 17.278, Waigali.

4. See on *inājun* below.



*xvāstan* 'beat' is also used for 'thresh'.<sup>5</sup> The third meaning 'treading' is found in the use of Iranian *xram-* 'walk, tread' and 'thresh' in derivatives which are widely spread in Iranian dialects. The simple verb is known in New Persian *xirāmīdan* 'to walk gracefully, strut', and meaning 'come' in Sogdian *yr'm-* \**xrām-*.<sup>6</sup> The dialect forms are the following: Parāci *khamōr* 'threshing floor' from \**xramana-*, New Pers. *xirman*, *xarman*, Ormuṛī *šamōnd*, Yidya *xurom*, Munji *xuram*, Wakhi *čerām*, Orošori *šrum*, Sarikoli *šūrim*, Sanglēci *xōrmōn*.<sup>7</sup> Balōči has *kħurmāni* 'pit to store grain' (Brahui *currum*) and *kurm*.<sup>8</sup>

With these derivatives in Iranian from *kram-* we have now to associate the Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī *kram-* and *krand-*. Thus we find Khowar (Čitrāl) *krom-* 'thresh'; Kati *kram-* "to thresh", and *kāmkrēm* 'threshing floor'.<sup>9</sup> The verb is well attested in Old Indian *kram-* 'to go, stride', pres. *krāmate*, *krāmati*, participle *krāntā-* and inf. *krāmitum*. An enlarged base *krand-* 'thresh' with *-d-*.<sup>10</sup> is used in the Divyāvadāna 563.8 *akrandita-* of the *tailās* 'sesame seeds', where the Tibetan translation has *brduns* 'beat, pound, thresh'.<sup>11</sup>

If now we survey some of the tripartite systems of verbal forms involving nasal and the enlargement *-d-*, as in *per-* 'strike', *pr-em*, *pr-en-d-*; *ker-*, *sker-* 'cut', *skr-em-*, *skr-en-d-*; *bher-* 'to jut out', *bhr-em-*, *bhr-en-*, *bhr-en-d-*; *kel-* 'to sound', *kl-em-* *kl-en-d-* and others,<sup>12</sup> we should expect similarly here to find a simple unenlarged base Ind. *kar-*

This expected base is to be seen in the Vedic word *khāla-s* 'threshing floor' occurring from the Rigveda onwards. Here we have 10.48.7 *khāle nā purāṇa prāti hanmi bhūri* 'like the sheaves upon the threshing floor I thresh a greater part'. It is found also in the Atharva-veda and later Vedic,<sup>13</sup> derivative adjective *khālya-*.

The claim that this *khāla-* with its *kh-* and its *-l-* belongs with *kram-* and *krand-* 'thresh' introduces the still unresolved problem of the coexistence

5. C. BARTHOLOMAE, *Mitteliranische Mundarten* 2.25 ff.

6. *Vāyantara-jātaka*.

7. G. MORGENSTIERNE, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 267, and \*59.

8. G. MORGENSTIERNE, *Norsk Tidssk. Sprogvid.* 5. 31; *Acta Orientalia* 20.269.

9. *Norsk Tidssk. Sprogvid.* 5.31.

10. The enlargement of a verbal base by *-d-* is one of the commonest types. Thus they are claimed for *geu-*, *teu-*, *dheu-*, *reu-*, *seu-*, *mer-*, *mel-*, *nej-* and many others in WALSZE-POKORNY, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*.

11. Cited in *J. Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1955, p. 17.

12. The bases are listed in WALSZE-POKORNY, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*.

13. MACDONELL and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, s.v.

of *k*, *t*, *p* besides *kh*, *th*, *ph* (Iranian *x*, *θ*, *f*) in Indo-Iranian. Thus we have to compare the following. Old Ind. *khan-* 'to dig', *khā-* 'fountain', with Avestan *xā-*, *xanya-*, 'fountain, of the fountain' and Avestan, Old Pers. *kan-* 'dig', Khotan. *kaṃḡgan-* 'dig', beside *khāhā-* 'fountain', Sogd. *γ'γ*. Similarly Old Ind. *kharuā-* 'defective', with Avestan *kaurva-*, Sogd. *kric-*.<sup>14</sup> The word for 'road' is an excellent example of this problem. From Avestan *pantā* nom. sing. masc. beside *paθō* gen. sing., we have *pantā-* beside *paθ-* from older *\*pontoθ-* and *prith-*, thus showing the origin of the *-h-*.<sup>15</sup> The Old Indian has introduced *th* in all its forms. Rōšānī has kept the gender of *pānd* 'road' masc.<sup>16</sup> So too Old Ind. *prithū-* 'wide', Avestan *pərəθu-*, corresponds to the Greek *πλάτυς*.

The medial development can be easily explained by recognising that Indo-Iranian had kept *-h-* from the Indo-European laryngeal *h*. Initially the the presence of a sound before *k*, *t*, *p* may have left its trace in the aspiration, just as in later Indo-Aryan we find the normal change of Old Ind. *skandha-* 'mass' to Pali and Prakrit *khandha-*. The problem would lead too far afield here: we return to *kram-*.

The series *khāl-*, *kram*, *kraṇd-* can be confirmed by referring once more to other Indo-European languages. We at once find that the unenlarged base occurs in Lit. *kalū* 'I bent', Let. *kal'u* beside Lit. *kulū*, 'I thresh', Let. *ku'l'u* 'I beat, thresh'.<sup>17</sup> That is a base *kel-* 'beat, thresh'. Thus we can detect the three forms in Indo-European *kel-*, *kl-em-*, *kl-en-d-*. The meanings 'beat' and 'tread' derive from the one source.

By this evidence we are thus induced to see that the Dravidian words of similar form<sup>18</sup> should be kept apart.

## 2. Indo-Iranian *nay-* : *nā-*.

Ossetic Digoron *inājun* 'to thresh', *inājū*, Iron *nāj* 'act of threshing' whence the Iron *nāj kūnyṇ* 'to thresh' derives from *vi-nā-y-*. By comparing Ossetic Digoron *nāmun*, Iron *nāmyn*, participle *nād* 'beat, knead, stamp',

14. On *kharuā-* see T. Burnouf, *Sarup Volume*, p. 5. Sogd. *kne-ḡat'k* 'having defective teeth' for *\*karuā-ḡantak* corresponds to R̥gveda *kāruḡatin-* from *karuḡ-* and *dat-* from *dant-* : *dat-*.

15. The later Iranian dialects support the Avestan differences, thus Ossetic, which keeps *-nθ-* as *-nī-*, has in this word *fāndāḡ*, as Khotanese has *pande* nom. sing., but keeps *-nθ-* in *kanthā-* 'town'.

16. G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* I 280. The Rōšānī in A. K. Pisarcik, *Rošānīkīa Teksty*, p. 72.

17. Walde-Pokorny, loc. cit. I 437.

18. M. B. Emeneau, *Linguistic Prehistory of India*, *Proc. Amer. Philosophical Society*, 98, 1954, 290.



we can isolate the base *nam-* beside *nā-*, and *nā-y-*.<sup>19</sup> Thus we have a pair of bases to put with Old Ind. *gam-* beside *gā-* (pres. *jīgāti*) 'go'. The basic meaning of this *nam-*, *nā-*, *nāy-*, and *nay-* is then 'press, apply force to'.

The same verb can now also safely be seen in Wakhi *pərnəc* 'a churn' from *pari-nā-* with the suffix *-ōi*.<sup>20</sup> It can be seen also in Khotan. *parnaindā*, 3rd plur., 'they touch' in the parable of the blind men, who are asked to describe an elephant from knowledge of one part which they are asked to touch. The text is in E 2.122 *hastu parnaindā hana* 'the blind touch the elephant'. The corresponding Pali text in Udāna 6.4 has a different expression. There we read *jaccandhānaṃ haṭṭhiṃ dassesi* 'he made the men blind from birth to see the elephant'. The context requires the 'pressure upon', that is, the touching of the elephant. Hence the Khotanese had *par-nay-* from *pari-nay-*. One other form of this verb (not yet clear) may be traced in P 2834.55 *panā*,<sup>21</sup> in reference to the touching of a beggar's stick.

This base *nay-*; *nā-* is further to be recognised in a group of words connected with the idea of 'fat' and 'liquid'. Thus we have Khotanese *niyaka-* 'fat, butter' corresponding to Sansk. *navanīta* and Tibetan *mar*,<sup>22</sup> *āye*, *ñe* 'curds', *nyetutcā* 'whey' for Sansk. *māṣṭu*, Tibetan *zo-kha*; Sanglěōi *nīduk*, Yidya-Munji *nīyā* 'sour milk'; Zor. Pahl., New Pers. *panīr* 'cheese', found in Armen. *panir*, and in Wakhi, Pašto *panīr*, Balōči *panēr*.<sup>23</sup> In this I propose to see \**pati-nāra-* with *nāra-* rather than *nāra-* since bases in *-ay-*; *-ī-* have regularly an adjective in *-ī-ra-*, as Avestan *jīra-*, *vīra-*, *xšīra-*, Old Ind. *kṣīra-*. Similarly the Avestan *avē-mīrā* of Yasna 49.10 is to be explained as 'mighty to help', that is, *avah-* with *mīra-* from the same source as Avestan *māya-*, Old Ind. *māyā-* 'power', and the Hittite verbal base *mai-*; *mi-* 'to become strong', *mi-nu-* causative 'to make prosper'.

From Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī occur further derivatives of this *nay-*. Old Indian has *nava-nīta-* 'fresh butter', frequent in later Vedic *Sarphitās* and *Brāhmanas*.<sup>24</sup> Later the reflexes of the same *nīta-* survive in Indo-

19. The *-ā-* of *nād* 'beaten' is thus rather from Indo-European *-e-* than from *-a-*, although the Zor. Pahlavi *nātak* 'vomited' has \**ṇmṭh-tō* from \**ṇem-t-*, unlike Old Ind. *vēntā-*, and Khotan. *banḍa-*.

20. G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 534.

21. *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 45. In the Chinese version Ed. Chavannes has three verbs for 'take hold of' and 'touch', *Cinq Cents Contes* I 338.

22. *Siddhasāra* 20 v. 4; 100 v. 4 and elsewhere.

23. G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 235. Pahlavi in K 20, 61 r 8; Vid. 7, 77; Frahang i Pahlavik 79; Balōči in W. Geiger, *Lauflehre des Balōči* 61; Armenian in H. Hübschmann 221.

24. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. It is not C. C. Uhlenbeck's *Etya*, *Wörterbuch der altind. Sprache*.

Aryan Kalāṣā nīu, nīl- (with -u, -l- from intervocalic -i-), and Dameli nīt. Kati has nīvā.<sup>25</sup> The nava-nīta- is set among the dadhi type of food, thus in the Mahābhārata (Calc. I. 1. 262) *navanītaṃ yathā dadhno* 'as the butter is the best of the dadhi (curds)',<sup>26</sup>

We have then a series of words, verbal in the sense of 'press', and derivative in nīta- 'curds' and 'butter' and -nīra- of 'cheese'. This variety of meaning can be illustrated from the base Indo-European *seu-: su-* 'to press out', and in derivatives 'juice', as attested in Greek βῆι 'it rains', ὄλῃ 'dirt, mud', Celt. Ir. *suth* 'sap', Old Ind. *sunóti, sutá-* 'press out juice', Avestan *hav-, hu-*, with *sóma-s*, Avestan *haoma-*, and *sūrā* 'intoxicant', Avestan *hurā-*, Khotan *hurā*. In Lithuanian we have *sulā* 'sap from trees'.<sup>27</sup>

For this range of meaning we can also cite the base Old Ind. *pay-: pī-* 'to swell', from which come *páyate, pyāyate, páyas-* 'liquid, milk, water', *pīná-* 'swollen, thick', *pīvan-* 'fat'. From Iranian Avestan *payah-, paēman-*, Khotan. *pī* 'fat', Ossetic *fiu* 'fat', New Pers. *pīnū* 'cream cheese', Wakhi *pənū* 'butter'.<sup>28</sup>

We may therefore expect to find beside the verb, in Ossetic *nā-, nā-y-*, Khotan. *nay-*, Wakhi *nī-*, and the derivatives Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī *nīta-* 'butter, curds', Mid. Iranian *panīr* 'cheese', some form signifying 'liquid'. This should be recognised in Old Ind. *nīra-* 'water' in the Epic, and in the *nīvara-* 'water, mud' of the Lexica. For the form note the word *tūra-* in Apabhraṃśa for 'cheese' in comparison with Old Ind. *tūvara-*, *tūbara-* 'sour milk'.<sup>29</sup> These words show the suffix -*var-* enlarged by -*a-*, beside the word *pī-van*, fem. *pīvarī* 'fat'. The adjective *īśvara-* is similar.

These words are found in the Later Indo-Aryan, but it would be a mistake to suppose that an argumentum e silentio in the case of Old Indian texts is plausible: the tradition is far too scanty and accidental. Recall beside the *tūra-* just cited, which belongs with Avestan *tūri, tūrya-* and Greek *τυρός*, the Apabhraṃśa word *chāsi* 'cheese',<sup>30</sup> and also the many hapax legomena in the Vedic texts. As an example we can quote the *syédu-* of the Atharva-veda 12. 1. 30 rendered hesitatingly by 'mucus', which can be shown to be connected with Iranian Sogd. *γztok* for older \**hazdu-ka-*,

25. G. MORGENSTIERNE, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 235.

26. Cited in M. WINTERNITZ, *Hist. Indian Literature* I 325.

27. Other words in WALTRE-POKORNY, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*, II 468.

28. WALTRE-POKORNY, *Vergl. Wb* II 73; G. MORGENSTIERNE, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 534.

29. This comparison I owe to R. L. TURNER.

30. L. ALSDOBF, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, 39.



attested also in Zor. Pahl. *xašūk*, *xayūk*, New Pers. *xašū*, *xayū* 'spittle' (to which also must be added Khotan. *harṣda-*).

Here then once again we find the claim of Dravidian origin to be reversible: the *nīr* of Tamil is either an independent word or possibly taken from Indo-Aryan.<sup>31</sup>

This is also the place to claim another cognate of *nay-*: *nī-* 'beat'. Armenian has an Iranian loan-word, recognisable by its form, in *patnēš* 'rampart, fortification', *patnēš acēl* 'to fortify'. The word passed also to Georgian as *p'at'nez-i* in the same meanings.

The enlargement by *-s-* is frequent. Thus we have in Old Indian *śroṣ-*, *bhaks-*, *vakṣ-*, *nāṣ-*, *bhāṣ-*, and others in Iranian. From Indo-European *yei-* 'turn' we have Old Ind. *veṣ-* in *veškā-s* 'rope for strangling', and *veṣta-s* 'rope', with *veṣtate* 'surround'. So here we can expect to have *nai-š-*, later *nēš-* from *nay-* 'beat'.

If now we note that in Ossetic *Digoron*, and Iron *nād* means 'beaten' and 'road', and that from Mid. Pers. *xvāstan* 'beat' we find *pāl-xvāst* 'elephant beaten' for 'road', and New Persian *xustāh* explained as 'fundamentum muri', we may claim that *naiš-* could yield a word for 'beaten' work either of a trench, a rampart or a foundation. The compound *patnēš* is then the 'fort' directed against (*pati-*) and in defence.<sup>32</sup>

31. M. B. ÉMINEAU, loc. cit. 289.

32. H. ADJARIAN, *Armenian Etymological Dictionary*, has nothing of use here. E. HERRFELD discussed *xvāst* in *Archaeol. Mittell. aus Iran* II 81-83.

## THE INTRUSIVE -R- IN INDO-ARYAN

BY

P. B. PANDIT, *Ahmedabad*

Consonants of the *ɽ*-series in Gujarati are pronounced with the underside of the tip of the tongue, slightly curled, striking against the innerside of the alveolar arch. When the contact is made, there is a notable tension of the tongue. (Actually, successful attempts have been made to teach deaf children to pronounce *ɽ*, by instructing them to keep the tongue in *t* position but applying a greater amount of force in the contact by the tongue. The resulting *ɽ* is acceptable to Gujarati listeners and the acoustic effect is non-distinctive from the normal *ɽ*).

Considering the aspirated and the voiced sounds, we have four phonemes of this class: /t/, /tʰ/, /d/, /dʰ/. There are two allophones of the /d/ phoneme: [d] and [ɽ]. In standard Gujarati they are in complementary distribution. [d] occurs initially and when preceded by a nasalised vowel or a nasal consonant; [ɽ] occurs elsewhere.

[ɽ] is pronounced with tongue curled far back towards the soft palate, and released with a flap against the innerside of the alveolar arch. The contact is made by the underside of the tip of the tongue.

/ŋ/ is the nasal phoneme of this class. The tongue is curled back in a manner similar to [ɽ], and released in the same manner. The contact is also made by the underside of the tip of the tongue. /ŋ/ (like [ɽ]) does not occur initially. There is also an absence of 'tension' or 'force' (referred to above) in the pronunciation of [ɽ] and /ŋ/.

Thus in [ɽ] and /ŋ/, curling of the tip of the tongue is much more noticable, the tip being raised towards the soft palate. This feature distinguishes them from the /t/, /tʰ/, /d/, /dʰ/ where the tongue is curled only towards the alveolar arch.

Gujarati /r/ is an alveolar flap. It is pronounced by the tip of the tongue tapped against the teeth-ridge. It consists of one tap.

In modern Gujarati pronunciation, when this /r/ preceeds /ŋ/ or [ɽ], it is assimilated in standard colloquial. It is retained in polite speech. Thus:

bəɽɽi for bəɽɽi  
gəɽɽi for gəɽɽi  
doɽɽi for doɽɽi



məyɾo for məɾɾo  
həyɾe for həɾɾe etc.

(In the dialects of Kathiawar, instead of a -ɟ- glide, we get a lowered centralised vocalic glide).

The phonetic process is clear. The underside of the apex curls earlier for the flap and the tap of the /r/ is lost.

In Gujarati script, however, /r/ in this context is always written, and the pronunciation with /r/ is the acceptable polite form.

Historically, there are some interesting examples in which the /r/ is lost not only in pronunciation, but is not retained even in the script. The only pronunciation—polite or colloquial—of these words is without the /r/.

cəṇiyo—s. m. lower garment—skirt—of women. Sk. *carāṇa-*, ext. with -ika-

bhəṛkū—s. n. flour of bajra cooked in water (food of the poor).

cf. Guj. root bhəṛəṇ—vū 'to pound', refers to the preparation of the flour.

kəṇḍiyo—s. m. basket of cane or bamboo.

Sk. *karandakoh* > N. *kaṇḍi*, ku. *kaṇḍo*, P. *karni*, M. *karāṇḍa*.

vəṇḍi—s. f. enclosure;

Sk. *varaṇḍa-*, cf. *Mṛchhakatika*—*varaṇḍa-lambuo*: 'hanging from a wall'. This early occurrence of MIA *varaṇḍa*—precludes the possibility of borrowing from Romance languages. See ND *barandā*, Bloch *varāḍ* of the NIA languages cited, only Gujarati has lost -r-.

In the last two words, kəṇḍiyo and vəṇḍi, the -r- is lost before -ṇḍ- instead of -ɟ- or -ʃ-. The intervening stage could have been -ṇḍ- > \* -ḍ- > \* -ṛ-. The difficulty still remains, because the pronunciation is vəṇḍi and not vəṇṛi. (In North Gujarati dialects, however, -ṛ- is permissible, e.g., *həṛo*, *pəṛo*, etc.)

There is another group of words in which -r- is added before -ɾ- or -ɟ-. Sometimes a vowel is inserted to avoid the group -ɾɾ- or -ɟɟ-; in any case, the spelling shows the -r- and so does the polite speech. Few of these words are pan-Indian. But, a formidable group of words with -r- belongs to northern and western—south western—languages alone.

sarāṇ s.f. whetstone.

Sk. *śāṇaḥ* m, *śāṇā* f; Pk *sāna-*.

In Ku. N. A. B. O. Bl. H. P. M. Sgh, we get either *sān* or *sāṇ*.

In Sindhi we have *sirāṇi* f.

korpo s.m. whip, lash, esp. with pointed nails or thorns on it.

ND *korṇā* suggests a connection with sk. *koṭayati* 'breaks'. Connection with Sanskrit *koṭiḥ* 'edge, sharp point' seems to be more probable.

B. H. Korā. N. P. O. M. *korarā*.

kərpo adj. m. rough—māṇas 'rough man'.

kərpi nəjər 'sharp—unpleasant—look'.

cf. Sk. lex. *kaḍḍati* 'is rough'. onom. ? cf. Deśi *kuruda*, also used in Ap. 'rough'.

(Prob. connected with sk. *krūra* ? very doubtful). H. B. *karā*.

ghərepū s.n. ornament, jewel.

Sk. *gahanā* f. Pk. *gahanaya* n.

N. *gahanu*, ku. *gaino*, B. *gahanā*, O. *gahanā*, H. *gahnā*, (lw. in M. *gahinā* m.), S. *gahaṇo* m. In Surti Gujarati also: *genā* (lw.) 'ornaments'.

śərnāi s.f. a flute-like musical instrument.

lw. Pers. *šərnāi*

H. *šərnāi*.

ghəreṭ s.f. custom, manner. 'juni-' 'old custom'.

cf. Sk. *ghaṭate*.

mərərvū vb. tr. to bend, twist.

Sk. *moṭanam* n. wringing. Pk. *moḍei* twists. Of the NIA languages, K. W. Pah. B. O. P. L. S. have the derivatives of MIA *moḍ-* without *-r-*. On the other hand Ku. *marəṭṭo*, M. *marəṭṭē*, have added *-r-*.

kərərvū vb. trans. to bite

cf. Sk. *kṛntati*, Pk. *kaṭṭai*

All the NIA languages have the derivatives of the MIA *katt-*. *-r-* in Gujarati could only be explained if the MIA form is \**kaṭati* > \**kaḍai*. Extremely doubtful.

əkhrot/əkhroṭ s.n. walnut.

Sk. *akṣotaḥ* *akṣoḍaḥ* m, Pa. *akkhoḍa*—m, Rom. eur. *akhor*, arm. *anikhor*—nut, Sh. *āchō* m. walnut.

H. P. M. N. (lw.) *akhroṭ*. S. *akhiroṭu*.



kəroṛ num. ten million.

Sk. *koṣṭh*. Prob. a MIA \**kroḍi* is the source of all NIA derivatives, which have *kəroṛ*.

vətəṛṇū s. n. reed-pencil

cf. Lalitavistara—*vartanaka*—

niśəṛṇi s. f. ladder.

Sk. *niśrayaṇī*, *niśreṇī*, f.

Here, the -r- may not be glidic, but could be a continuation of unassimilated group with -r- through MIA period cf *həḍəṛ* (*haridrā*).

Of the above examples, some etymologies are doubtful. But one thing is clear: the -r- which 'intrudes' is caused by the following -ṛ- and -ṛ-, the retroflex flaps. It is therefore not 'intrusive' but the result of the following retroflexion—a glide caused by it—

This -r- is more common in languages like Gujarati, Sindhi, Marathi. One or two words (like *kəroṛ*, *əkhroṛ*) have become pan-Indian. Evidently, this process could not belong to -ṛ- dialects (such as Western Hindi), nor could it possibly belong to Eastern dialects (such as the dialects of Bihari, Assamese) where -ṛ- has largely developed to -r-. It might also be interesting to note here that the consonant groups with unassimilated -r- in MIA period mainly belong to the western group, Sindhi and Gujarati (GHATAGE. All India Oriental Conference 1943-44; BHAYANI—Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1951).

This process could have started with the development of -ṛ- and -ṛ- in MIA period. We learn from the Greek coins of the early centuries of the Christian era that -ṛ- has developed fairly early:

*Ləṛike* for *lāṭa*

*Saragonnos* for *Sātakarṇi*.

*Karuophullon* for *katukaphala*.

The writers of *Prāṭisākhya*s have noticed various dialectal variations in the pronunciation of -ṛ- (WHITNEY—*Atharva*—Prā. i. 20—28; ALLEN 'Phonetics in Ancient India. 203., GRIERSEN, 'On Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars: an unfinished study, reprinted from *Indian Antiquary* 1931-33; § 302). Could it be guessed that this process of 'elision' and 'intrusion' started where the -ṛ- was more retroflex?

The glidic addition of -r- should not be confused with the hypersanskritisation, a 'striving for distinct utterance', noticed in most of the NIA languages (noticed by MIA grammarians HC iv. 399; GRIERSEN *Ibid.* 296).

## JĀYASĪ AND ALĀOL

BY

SATYENDRANATH GHOSHAL, *Visva Bharati*

It is well known that Malek Mahammad Jayasi wrote his masterpiece *Padmāvat* which is one of the greatest works in the history of Indian literature sometime about the middle of the sixteenth century. After another hundred years, the great Bengali poet Alaol rendered this Hindi work into Bengali, though this later work is more an adaptation of the earlier one than a verbatim translation. In recent years some very good editions of Jayasi's *Padmāvat* have been brought out, but it is a matter of regret that not a single of these able editors has cared to look into, or for that matter, refer to the Bengali work while judging the authenticity or otherwise of the stanzas or lines of the Hindi work. It is needless for me to point out that at many places the authenticity or spuriousness of the stanza or stanzas of Jayasi's *Padmāvat* can with advantage be clinched with the help of Alaol's work which must have been based on some very old and authoritative manuscript of the original work. I am not sure whether any of the manuscripts of Jayasi used by our learned editors is so old as Alaol's work, not to speak of the MS. which served the pattern used by Alaol about three hundred years ago.

The latest edition of Jayasi's *Padmāvat* seems to be a very able work of Dr. Mataprasad GUPTA<sup>1</sup> and there is little doubt that this edition throws a new light on this great Hindi work, but, though most of his rejections of Jayasi's stanzas have Alaol's support, a few present some difficulty since the Bengali poet has taken notice of these. From SHUKLA's edition<sup>2</sup> and SHIRREFF's English translation of Jayasi's *Padmāvat*,<sup>3</sup> runs the erroneous view that Alaol has improved upon the original, in the scene where Parvati and Mahesh appear as a glee-man and a glee-maiden with Hanuman as their attendant and bring about the release of Ratnasena.<sup>4</sup> The Bengali poet is said<sup>5</sup> to have done away with all these divine interventions and to have very realistically introduced a human bard who persuaded King Gandharvasena to sober down to the acceptance of Ratnasena as his son-in-law.<sup>6</sup> The fact

1. J. G. (M. G.)

2. J. G. (R.S.).

3. P. (R. A. S. B.).

4. *Ibid.*, ch. 25.

5. P(Sh.), preface; B. S. I. Vol. I, p. 578.

6. P. (Sh.) pp. 186-196; P. (H), pp. 110-116.



of the matter, however, is that Jayasi too never brought in the divine figures in this scene, and in his work also a human bard does all that is necessary to be done here.<sup>7</sup> All the stanzas containing divine interventions and all that, have been rightly rejected by Dr. GUPTA on ground of interpolation and this is only supported by Alaol's rendering and not really improved upon. Thus a good percentage of Alaol's alleged divergences from his source do not appear true, and many of the newer readings of Jayasi are found to possess a cast-iron authenticity as they are supported by Alaol's adaptation and sometimes translation. The importance of Alaol's work will be evident from some of the readings of Jayasi discussed here.

There is absolutely no doubt that in the scene of the wedding of Padmavati and Ratnasena, Alaol has gone wide of the source and has been content with a description of the customs followed in a Bengali Hindu marriage at the cost of the high poetry found in the original.<sup>8</sup> In fact Jayasi has in this scene pursued his own trend of allegory, excelling in rehetoric grandeur and filling the entire atmosphere with a pomp and glory nowhere to be traced in the Bengali work.<sup>9</sup> Alaol in a point of contrast has stuck to the homely pictures of familiar scenes in which poetic grandeur has given way to the melody of soft and simple sound. The two poets' descriptions in this scene continue to diverge till the bride and the bridegroom come to the palace set apart for them by Gandharvasena, the King of Sindhala. In some of the descriptions that follow here in Alaol, we come across one or two interesting features in the readings of Jayasi.

For instance, in Dr. Lakshmi DHAR's recent study of Jayasi's *Padmāvat* the reading of the third line in the 17th verse is as follows :

Sakhī sahasa dasa sevā pāl.<sup>10</sup>

[(He) obtained tens of thousands of maids (? ten thousand maids) for service]<sup>11</sup>

The reading of the above line in SHUKLA's edition is also the same :-

Sakhī sahasadasa sevā pāl.<sup>12</sup>

[Ten thousand companions were in attendance (on Padmavati)].<sup>13</sup>

7. J. G. (M. G.), St. 280-274.

8. P. (Sh.), pp. 214-231; P. (H), pp. 125-138.

9. P. (L.D.), pp. 147-157, v. 1-21.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 49, v. 17, line 3.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 155, v. 17.

12. J. G. (R. S.), 28/17.

13. P. (R.A.S.B.), 26/17.

But the reading in Dr GUPRA's edition is this :—

Sakhī sahāsa dūi sevā āi.<sup>14</sup>

[Two thousand companions (or maids) came for service].

In the lines quoted above, evidently four authors are involved, of whom, three concur and only one differs. Naturally in this age of democracy we are tempted to accept the reading on a vote of majority. But a clue to the solution lies with the Bengali poet where the above line reads thus :—

Sakhī dūi sahasra āsila sevā kāje.<sup>15</sup>

[Two thousand companions (or maids) came for service]. Does it not give us a very strong plea for the choice of the correct reading, if not of the clincher, so to say? Certainly it does.

Illustrations of this type are only too numerous to be quoted here.

Again there are lines in Jāyasi's *Padmāvat*, the spuriousness of which, as maintained by Dr. GUPRA, seems doubtful on the strength of Alaol's evidence. Thus the 23rd stanza of chapter 34 of Shukla and of Shirreff reads thus :—

"Let not any one suffer severence, but let all meet as these two met. . . . . God has made separation between body and spirit; if He had not done so, none would recognize Him. It is He who slays and reduces to ashes and effaces; it is He who revives and brings together. . . . . If God brings a man a friend who will dwell in his mind, and effects a meeting, what profit is there for a human being in good or loss in evil fortune?"<sup>16</sup> (The sense of the last is this :— "Give a man a true friend, and good fortune will not give him anything better, nor will ill fortune do him any harm").<sup>17</sup>

Now, this entire stanza has been left out by GUPRA from his text on ground of spuriousness. But it occurs in Alaol, slightly condensed, thus :—

"Let there be no severence between a husband and a wife in the three worlds; in case it be (i.e., in case there is severence) let them meet again. God makes separation between body and spirit; if He had not done so, there would be no difference between God and his servant (i.e. man). It is He who slays and reduces to ashes and settles; it is He who revives and brings together. Let God bring a friend of one's heart; (and) good fortune will not profit him nor will ill fortune do him any harm."<sup>18</sup>

14. J. G. (M. G.), St. 238/3.

15. P. (Sh.), p. 238; P. (H), p. 137.

16. P. (R. A. S. B.), 34/23.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 249, f. n. (x).

18. P. (H), p. 190.



This naturally raises a serious doubt about the spuriousness of this stanza in Jayasī, and I, for one, believe that it was in Jayasī's original.

The second stanza of the fortyseventh chapter of SHUKLA and of SHIRREF also seems difficult to be summarily rejected as GUPTA has done, for the following reasons :- (i) The idea of crossing the gates one after another, though very much condensed, occurs in Ālāol also; (ii) the mention of Ratan-sena's imprisonment occurs in this stanza for the first time and seems quite pertinent, otherwise its casual reference in the next stanza is likely to appear irrelevant.

It is thus clear that the spuriousness or the genuineness of some stanzas and of many lines and parts of lines of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* can on good ground be disputed if we take notice of Ālāol's work of the same name with the seriousness it deserves.

*Abbreviations used :*

- B. S. I. = Bāṅgālā Sāhityera Itihāsa, Dr Sukumar SEN, Ph.D. (Second Edition).  
 J. G. (M. G.) = Jāyasī Granthāvalī, Dr Matprasada GUPTA, D. Litt., 1932.  
 J. G. (R. S.) = Jāyasī Granthāvalī, Ramchandra SHUKLA, 1924.  
 P. (L. D.) = Padmāvatī, Dr Lakshmi DHAR, Ph.D., (London), 1949.  
 P. (H.) = (Bengali) Padmāvatī of Ālāol, printed from the Habibi Press, (Baṭatalā Edition).  
 P. (Sh.) = (Bengali) Padmāvatī of Ālāol, Part I, Dr Muhammed SHAHIDULLAH, D.Litt. (Paris), 1950.  
 P. (R. A. S. B.) = (English Translation) Padmāvatī, A. G. SHIRREF, I.C.S., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1944.  
 v. = verse.

## ABOUT VIŚCAKADRĀKARṢAḤ IN THE NIRUKTA II. 3\*

BY

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At the beginning of the second Adhyāya of his Nirukta, Yāska gives certain principles of etymology and then proceeds to illustrate the method that may be adopted in giving the etymologies of the derivative nouns and compound formations. With regard to the former he gives two instances, viz. *daṇḍyaḥ* and *kakṣyā*, and with regard to the latter he gives three instances, viz. *rājapuruṣaḥ*, *viścakadrākarṣaḥ*, and *kalyāṇavarṇarūpaḥ*. In the present paper it is proposed to discuss the second illustration from among those that are cited as compounds.

The passage where this illustration occurs and which contains Yāska's remarks on it, reads as follows:—

*viścakadrākarṣaḥ / vīti cakadra iti śvagatau bhāṣyate / drātīti gatikut-  
sanā / kadrātīti drātikutsanā / cakadrāti kadrātīti sato 'narthako 'bhyāsaḥ /  
tad asminn astīti viścakadrah /*

The views so far expressed about the meaning of the expression seem to show that the compound consists of two members, viz., *viścakadra* and *ākarṣa*. The word *viścakadra* occurs only here. According to Durga, the well-known commentator on the Nirukta, it means 'a hunter' (*śvajivanaḥ puruṣaḥ*). Durga also quotes the opinion held by some others, and according to this view *viścakadra* means 'a dog'.<sup>1</sup> Roth<sup>2</sup> does not offer any explanation of his own; he only gives the two views—one of Durga and the other mentioned by him—referred to above. SARUP<sup>3</sup> translates *viścakadra* as 'a despicable dog' and thus follows the opinion referred to by Durga. RAJWADE<sup>4</sup> also does the same and understands under *viścakadra* 'hunter's dog (having an extremely bad gait)'. Incidentally it may be mentioned that according to

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1. *anye tu bruvate / śvaiva viścakadrah /*

2. *Yāska's Nirukta*. (Göttingen, 1852). Erläuterungen, p. 18, "Nach D. bezeichnet *viścakadra* einen Menschen, der sich mit Hunden abgibt ... Andere sagen nach D. *viścakadra* bedeute den Hund selbst."

3. English translation of the Nirukta, p. 23. (Oxford, 1921).

4. Marathi translation of the Nirukta, pp. 88-9. (Poona, 1935).



RAJWADE, Yāska has cited *viścakadra* as an instance of a *taddhita* formation having more than one member viz. *dra*, *kadra*, and *cakadra*. In his later edition of the *Nirukta*<sup>5</sup> with English Notes on Chapters I-III, RAJWADE renders *viścakadraḥ* as 'a hound that moves about with the evil purpose of killing deer', but the *taddhita* form is said to consist of the following two members—*kadra* or *cakadra* and *viścakadra*. Prof. Siddheshwar VARMA,<sup>6</sup> however, follows Durga when he translates *viścakadra* as 'a person whose livelihood is on dogs.'

From the views cited above it is clear that Durga and Prof. VARMA take *viścakadra* to mean 'a hunter', the others 'a dog' or 'a hound'. Though the passage in the *Nirukta* cited above is to all appearances somewhat corrupt, it seems Yāska himself had this latter meaning (dog) in view when he cited this instance. Yāska first analyses *viścakadra* into two elements, viz., *vi* and *cakadra*. The latter he derives from the root  $\sqrt{drā}$  which, according to him, means a bad gait (*gatikutsanā*); from this he further gets the base  $\sqrt{kadrā}$ —where the prefix *ka* is said to show the intensification of the bad gait (*drāti-kutsanā*); by reduplicating  $\sqrt{kadrā}$ , without any special purpose, Yāska obtains  $\sqrt{cakadrā}$ . It is from this base that Yāska derives the word *cakadra* in the meaning 'a dog's gait' (*cakadra iti śvagatau<sup>7</sup> bhāṣyate<sup>8</sup>*.) The text of the *Nirukta* as it is available to us today leads us to believe that Yāska regarded *vi* as a prefix in the sense of possession<sup>9</sup> (*tad asminn astīti*), *viścakadra* thus meaning 'one who has the gait of a dog, a dog'. The appearance of the sibilant between *vi* and *cakadra* has not been explained by Yāska.

As regards the interpretation of *vi*, Durga seems to have made self-contradiction. The first line of the *Nirukta* passage cited above, Durga interprets to mean that both *vi* and *cakadra* are substantives meaning 'śvagati'.

5. Government Oriental Series, Class A, No. 7, pp. 310-12. (Poona 1940).

6. *The Etymologies of Yāska*, p. 144. (Hoshiarpur, 1953).

7. When Durga takes *viścakadra* to mean 'a hunter' he understands *śvagati* quite differently—*śvabhīḥ sākaṃ yo gacchati manuṣyaḥ* (the man who moves in the company of the dogs). It is obvious that this interpretation is far fetched.

8. As the word *cakadra* is not otherwise known it is difficult to say whether Yāska has used *bhāṣyate* in the sense 'is used, employed in every day speech', or 'is explained'. For the latter meaning, cf. *athāpi bhāṣikebhyo dhātubhyo naigamāḥ kṛto bhāṣyante*. 'Further, the Vedic primary derivatives are explained from the verbs of the common language'. *Nirukta* II.2.

9. This is also the way in which *vi* is understood in the second view cited by Durga. Cf. *vity ubhayor arthayor matvarthah* (by *vi* is to be understood the possession of both the meanings viz. *kutsitā gati* (shown by  $\sqrt{drā}$ ) and *kutsitakutsitā gati* (shown by  $\sqrt{kadrā}$ ). Rort (op. cit., p. 18) has understood *ubhayor arthayoh* wrongly as referring to both the views, viz., the one of Durga and the other cited by him. (In beiden Fällen stehe das *vi* in possessivem Sinne (matu)).

But in that case Yāska would have used the dual form *bhāṣyete* and not the singular *bhāṣyate*. This difficulty Durga tries to get over by adding *śabdadvayam* after *cakadra* *iti*.<sup>10</sup> A little later, however, he seems to take *vi* as a prefix in the sense 'different kinds of.' cf. *tad asmin dvitayam apy asti kugatitvam kutsitataragatitvam ca nānāprakāram iti viścakadrah śvajīvanah puruṣah* (the person who has both these—the bad gait and the worse gait—of different kinds is a hunter, a man who maintains himself with the help of dogs). SARUP<sup>11</sup> only follows Durga when he translates the first line of the Nirukta passage as—"The words *vi* and *cakadra* are used (to denote) 'gait of a dog'." Both these scholars have overlooked the fact that if Yāska had regarded *vi* as a substantive, he would have used its declined form like *vir iti* and not simply *vi iti*. Moreover in that case Yāska would have first explained the derivation of *vi* in the sense of *śvagati* and then proceeded to the explanation of *cakadra*.<sup>12</sup>

RAJWADE is therefore right when he puts a full stop after *vi iti* and understands that Yāska gives only *cakadra* to mean 'the movement of dogs.'<sup>13</sup> On the basis of the concluding line in Yāska's explanation, RAJWADE takes *vi* as a *taddhita* prefix showing possession. He, however, adds, "I learn on authority that *vi* is not mentioned by Pāṇini as a *Taddhita* prefix or affix." As regards the presence of the sibilant between *vi* and *cakadra*, he observes, "The appearance of *ś* in *viścakadra* is covered by no rule of Pāṇini who mentions *hariścandra* only (Pā. 6. 1. 153). One may therefore conclude that *viścakadra* had gone out of use long before Pāṇini's time."<sup>14</sup> Both these difficulties are sought to be covered by the following remarks of Prof. VARMA :— "But *vis-* as a prefix has been noted in Indo-Aryan and a few other Indo-European languages by Walde and Pokorny.<sup>15</sup> They find it in *viṣuānc-*, Lith. *viṣas* 'all', Old Slav. *viši* 'all'. Only further investigation could possibly show whether in *viścakadra* there is a relic of Indo-Eur. *vis-*, or it is a *Taddhita* prefix, independent of Indo-European."

10. Cf. *viṭi cakadra iti śabdadvayam śvagatau bhāṣyate*.

11. His Eng. translation of the Nirukta, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

12. Cf. his rule II, 2—*atha taddhitasamāseṣu ekaparvasu cānēkaparvasu ca pūrvāṣu pūrvam aparaṁ aparāṁ pravibhajya nirbrūyāt* (SARUP's translation—"Now with regard to derivatives and compounds whether of one or more than one member, one should explain their component parts in their respective order, having first divided (the words) into them"), and his method of dealing with the individual words of the other two compounds viz., *rājapurūṣah* and *kalyāṇavaraparūṣah* in the Nirukta II.3.

13. His edition with English notes, *op. cit.*, p. 31 and 310.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 312.

15. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1312. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930).



Now for \*vi "auseinander", WALDE and POKORNY give the following correspondences :

OIA vi "auseinander"; Av. vī- 'auseinander, getrennt von' also viš- : viš-pat- 'weggehen');

OIA viṣu- 'nach verschiedenen Seiten' (cf. viṣuṇa, viṣurūpa, viṣu-añc- etc.), Av. višpaṇa 'ringsum allenthalben', Lith. višas, old Sl. visi;

OIA viśva, Av. vīspa.

These correspondences give us three bases vi < \*vi, viṣu < \*viṣu, \*viśuo, and viśva < \*viśvo of which the latter two are extended from the former. The only form pointing to a prefix with a sibilant (viš-) is the Avestan viš-pat- 'weggehen'. But even if we assume such a prefix \*viš- for OIA, it will not possibly help us in completely getting over the difficulty raised by RAJWADE, for it remains still to be demonstrated that this prefix appears as the *Taddhita* meaning possession. Further, in my opinion, this prefix will not help us to explain the form viścakadra because the 'Grundbedeutung' of vi (or viś) is 'auseinander' and when prefixed to √drā it can hardly be made compatible with the meaning 'dog'.

We may now turn to the explanation which is sought to be suggested in this paper, and which is somewhat different from the one held by Yāska and his interpreters since the days of Durga. Yāska is perhaps right in seeing in viścakadra, a base cakadra, and the same may be said about his deriving this word from √drā-. Cakadra in that case would originally probably mean "the quick gait (of any animal or bird)", though in the days of Yāska it seems to have been restricted to 'the gait of a dog (śvagati)'. The root √drā- is no doubt mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu 2. 14 among the roots showing motion (*gatikarman*); but its use as applied to animals or birds is not attested to in older literature. For instance in the R̥gveda and in the Atharvaveda it is primarily used with human beings like enemies (*arātayah*), and secondarily with abstract notions like sin (*tyajas*) and thoughts (*matayah*), (and also with moon (*vidhu*)?). It is, however, not improbable that in all such cases where it was used with human beings (like enemies), a comparison with the running away of animals was hinted. Its undisputed application to non-human beings is witnessed only in the word *madhu-dra* to which the Sanskrit Lexicons<sup>16</sup> assign the meaning 'running after honey, a bee'.

16. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 2.5.36 (as given by (BÖHMUNG-RORN). The Bombay edn. of the Trikāṇḍa. reads *madhudra-* in 2.5.35), Medinī, p. 185.200 (Calcutta edn. 1872); Medinī also gives it the meaning 'a girl-hunter (*kāmuka*)'. The printed text of this lexicon looks here like *madhudrau* 'lau' which is obviously a mistake for *madhudra* 'lau'.

Now related with  $\sqrt{drā-}$  is another root  $\sqrt{dru-}$  which is also given in the Nighaṇṭu 2.14 among the words meaning 'motion'. In the oldest literature it is this verb  $\sqrt{dru-}$  which is specially used to signify the quick movement of animals like horses,<sup>17</sup> of water courses,<sup>18</sup> as also of human beings. In the epics its use as applied to birds is also attested to.<sup>19</sup> Even when applied to deities, it very probably refers to the horses which bring the deities in chariots to the sacrificers. That is the reason why a horse is called *drāvayat-sakha* (RV 10. 39. 10) 'bringing his friend quickly'. Its use with a horse is further illustrated by such adjectives given to a horse as *raghu-drū*<sup>20</sup> (RV 5. 6. 2; 8. 1. 9.), *mitā-dru* (RV 7. 38. 7; 10. 64. 6), *dravāt-pāṇi*<sup>21</sup> RV 8. 5. 35, and *dravāc-cakra* RV 8. 34. 18). In our present context where a word meaning a dog, and as will be seen below perhaps a hunter's dog, is under consideration it is further worthwhile to note that already in the Brāhmanas and the epics the verb  $\sqrt{dru-}$ , mostly with *abhi*, has acquired the meaning 'to attack some one, to rush down on some one'. cf.

*tam indro 'bhyādudrāva hanīṣyan*, Śat. Br. 1. 6. 3. 16;  
*abhyadravanta Gāṅgeyam Yudhiṣṭhirahitepsayā*, Mbh. 6. 99. 14;  
*abhidrutam ivāranye śiṃhena gajayūthapam*, Rām. 2. 7. 30;  
*mṛgīva mṛgayudrutā*, Bhāg. Pur. 4. 17. 14.

Since the verbs  $\sqrt{drā-}$  and  $\sqrt{dru-}$  are related and since the verb  $\sqrt{dru-}$  is more appropriate in expressing the gait of an animal or a bird, it seems permissible to suggest that there once existed a variant *viścakadru* (<  $\sqrt{dru-}$ ) for *viścakadra* (<  $\sqrt{drā-}$ ). As will be seen below, this possibility is in fact borne out by the word *viśvakadru* of the later Sanskrit Lexicons.

With these remarks on *cakadra* (or *cakadru*), I now turn to the more disputed part of the word, viz. its beginning. In this respect I beg to differ from all early interpreters, including Yāska, for I take *vis* (analysing *viścakadra* as *vis* + *cakadra* and not *vi* + *cakadra*) as a substantive, meaning 'a bird'. *vi* meaning 'a bird' is an old word and is attested to since the earliest times. The presence of the sibilant in *viścakadra*, however, suggests

17. *drāvante asya hāraya ūpa naḥ* "may his (i.e., Indra's) horses run towards us". RV 4.16.1, etc.

18. *id (= āpoh) adravana āreṣiṣenena sṛṣṭāh* 'Released by the son of Reṣiṣena, the waters flow on' RV 10.98.6.

19. *yathānalām prajvalitām patāṅgāḥ samabhidrutāḥ* //  
 Mbh. 6.46.11.

*bhaṅktoḍgnisadrīrah divyam Rāvaṇaṇya kardaśanam /*  
*pakṣābhyaḥ sa mahātejaḥ dudrāṣe patageśvarah* //

Rām. 3.56.45.

20. It is also used as an adj. of a wheel, cf. RV 10.61.16.

21. The *Aśvinā* are given the same epithet in RV 1.31.



that here in this form we notice the preservation of another base *vis* for which parallels can be found in the other Indo-European languages.<sup>22</sup> Thus—Lat. *avis* 'a bird' (= Umbr. *avif*); AV. *viś* 'a bird'; OIA itself has besides *vi*, *vayas*, and from it *vāyasa*; Lith. *vištā* and Lettish *vista* 'hen' are suggested to be the *t*-derivatives from the weakest grade of an *-es* stem to be found in Sanskrit *vayas*.

These correspondences enable us to assume a base *vis*, besides the more common *vi*, and this assumption will satisfactorily explain the sibilant in the form *viścakadra* (< *vis* + *cakadra*).<sup>23</sup>

*viścakadra* will then mean, if used as an adjective, 'running very swiftly like a bird', and, if used as a substantive with the restricted meaning of *cakadra* noted by Yāska, 'a dog having the swift gait of a bird, a very swift dog'. It can be shown that similar expressions involving comparison with a bird or some other upamāna for swiftness like wind or an arrow are not unknown to Sanskrit literature. To begin with *vi* 'a bird', we find two expressions used as early as the Ṛgveda, viz. *vi-patman* (I. 180. 2) and *vi-pakṣas* (I. 6. 2). Both are used as adjectives to horses. *vi-patman* means 'flying like a bird' and is used to describe the great speed of the horse just as *viś-cakadra* is intended to show the great speed of a dog. GRASSMANN, however, renders *vi-patman* as "forteilend", and BÖHTLINGK-ROTH as 'durchfliegend'. GELDNER has seen the correct meaning though he puts a question mark when he translates *vi-patman* as 'wie der Vogel fliegend (?)'. The correctness of this interpretation is shown by RV 6. 3. 5 where the comparison with a bird is clearly expressed—*vēr nā druśādvā raghupātmajamhāḥ* '(Agni) sitting on woods, who has a speed (or wings) flying quickly like a bird.'

*vi-pakṣas* has also been variously rendered. GRASSMANN, following Sāyaṇa,<sup>24</sup> gives the meaning 'auf beiden Seiten des Wagens gehend'. But as this epithet hardly means anything significant, BÖHTLINGK-ROTH suggest 'die Seiten (des Wagens) vertauschend d.h. eben so wohl rechts als links gehend'. GELDNER translates with a question mark 'auseinanderstrebend (?)'. In my opinion all these scholars have missed the point since they take *vi* as a prefix and *pakṣas* to mean 'the side (of the chariot)' as it is an adjective to horse. But for this very reason *vi-pakṣas* can hardly be separated from *vi-patman*; as applied to horses it can only be translated as 'those having the wings of a

22. WALKER-POKORNY, *op. cit.*, 121.

23. The possibility that *cakadra* which means 'the dog's gait' may further be taken to mean 'the dog' itself and that *viścakadra* may be analysed as *vis* + *cakadra* to mean 'a dog of the settlement, a domestic dog' (cf. such formations as *grāmākukkuṭa*, *grāma-kole* and *grāmasūkara*, *grāmasiṃha*, *grāmamṛga*) is ruled out by the fact that in Sanskrit Lexicons its variant *viśvakadra* appears exactly in the opposite sense, viz., a hunter's dog. See page 134.

24. Cf. *rathasya dvayorḥ pārvayor yojitāv ity arthaḥ*.

bird, i.e., running as swiftly as a bird'. Similarly the chariot of Aśvinā is described as *śyenāpatvā* 'having the wings of Śyena' (RV 1. 118. 1). GELDNER translates this word as 'mit Adlern fliegend' which, as the accent shows, is a little beside the point.

Among other instances where not the bird but the wind<sup>25</sup> (or an arrow) stands for great speed we have *vātapramī* 'quicker than wind' which occurs already in the R̥gveda 4. 58. 7 as an adjective applied to the streams of ghyta. In the R̥gveda 1. 24. 6 where the expression occurs in connection with the flow of waters, it is used not as a compound, but as a clause—*vātasya praminānty ābhvam* 'those who beat down or surpass the power of the wind'. The same word appears as a substantive in Sanskrit Lexicons in the meanings of 'a kind of antelope' or 'a horse'.<sup>26</sup> Similarly in the RV 5. 33. 9 we get *mārutāśva* as a patronymic from *marutāśva* which is probably to be explained as 'one whose horses are quick like wind'.<sup>27</sup> In the epics<sup>28</sup> *Vātavega* appears as the name of Garuḍa and *Śaravega* 'swift as an arrow' occurs as the name of a horse in the Kathāsaritsāgara.<sup>29</sup> *Laghupatanaka* is the name of the crow in the well-known story from the Pañcatantra<sup>30</sup> and the Hitopadeśa.<sup>31</sup>

Thus *viścakadra* originally perhaps an epithet showing the great speed of an animal came to be used as a substantive to mean 'a very swift dog', and from this 'a hunter's dog' that was expected to run with great speed. That this, and not 'a hunter', is the meaning of *viścakadra* is shown by the fact that *viścakadru* meaning 'a dog expert in hunting' is recorded by many of the important Sanskrit lexicons.<sup>32</sup> That there is some relation between *viścakadra* of the Nirukta and *viśvakadru* of the Lexicons has been already felt by BÖHTLINGK-ROTH; and to the question put by RAJWAD<sup>33</sup>—"may not *viśvakadru* be a corruption of *viścakadra*?" the reply may be given in the affirmative. As regards the end syllable -dra: -dru, I have already shown above that there is a possibility of there having existed a form like *viścakadru* (< √dru) besides *viścakadra* (< √drā) and the actually recorded *viśvaka-*

25. Cf. *na vai vātāt kinhoanāśīyo'eti* / Śat. Br. 5.1.4.8; *vāgur vai devānām āśīpṭah* / Śat. Br. 13.1.2.7; also cf. 8.4.1.9.

26. Cf. *vātapramī* *vātamrgah*, Amara. 2.5.7; Hemacandra, 1295; also cf. *Vaijayanti* 66.16; *Vaij.* 268.38 gives the additional meaning 'horse'—*haye vātapramī mrga*.

27. cf. *Sāvana*—*marutasadṛśavegāśvasān marutāśvaḥ* /

28. Mbh. 5.3595.

29. KSS. 39.170.

30. J. HERTZ's edn. 126, line 12. HOS 11.

31. P. PETERSON's edn. 6, line 7. BSS 33.

32. Cf. *śva viśvakadruḥ mrgapākulalah*, Amara. 2.10.23; also cf. Hemacandra 1281, *Vaijayanti* 139.39; *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 3.3.73; *Viśva* quoted in the commentary on *Trikāṇḍa*; and *Medinī* 195.296. Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary on Amara. explains *viśvakadru* as *viśvam bandhayaty āhwayate viśvakadruḥ, vigataḥ śvakadanam asyety eke, viśvakam draveti vā* /

33. Op. cit., p. 312.



*dru* of the Lexicographers lends support to this view. *viśvakadru* therefore seems to have come from \**viścakadru*. About the confusion between *śc* and *śv* we need not wonder, as the writing of *śc* and *śv* in Devanāgarī was likely to be confused.<sup>34</sup> In fact in the Nirukta itself four editions to my knowledge show the reading *viśvakadrākaraṣa* for *viścakadrākaraṣa*. These editions are—the Bibl. Ind. edn. by SAMASTAMĪ, Calcutta, 1882-86, the Nirṇayasāgara edn. by Pandit Mukund JHA BAKSHI, Bombay, 1930, the Hindī Nirukta by Pandit Sitaram SASTRI, and the Nirukta edited by Manasukharaya MORA, Calcutta, 1952.

Having thus seen that *viścakadra* means 'a very swift dog, a hunter's dog', we may now turn to the full citation, viz. *viścakadrākaraṣaḥ*. According to Durga it means 'some official who punishes a hunter'.<sup>35</sup> According to the other view quoted by Durga, the expression means 'a person (perhaps a hunter)<sup>36</sup> who drags a dog'.<sup>37</sup> SARUP and SKÖLD translate the expression by 'one

34. Similar confusion between *śc* and *śv* is found with regard to the word *goṣṭhaśva* (Hemacandra 477) which appears as *goṣṭhaśva* in the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, (Bombay edn.) 3.1.5. That the two are identical is shown by their descriptions. Cf. *svasthānasthaḥ paradvēṣi* (Hem.) and *svasthānasthaḥ parān dvēṣi* (Tri.). In this case, of course, the correct reading is with *śv* and not *śc*.

In our instance the mistake may have occurred also because the word has something to do with dog, and the common word for dog is *śva*. This is shown by the following explanation of *viśvakadra* by Pandit Mukund BAKSHI JHA (p. 66), *śvabhīḥ saḥ kadra śvakadra vridhāḥ śvakadra yaga sa viśvakadrah śvajīvanah puruṣah / yad vā śvaiva viśvakadrah / śvanām hi kadrah śvakadrah vridhāḥ śvakadra yasyety evam / yāvadvidhāḥ śvanāḥ kutsitatārā gatayas tāḥ sarvā apy aṣṭa saṁstīti bhavati śvaiva viśvakadrah /*

35. Cf. *viścakadrah śvajīvanah puruṣah / tam aparādhe kasmimā cid vartamānam anyo ya śkarṣati sa viścakadrākaraṣaḥ*. This and the other view referred to by Durga are also adopted by Pandit Mukund JHA BAKSHI (Nirṇayasāgara edn., p. 66).

36. The hunters are often referred to as *śvageṇin*, *śvageṇika*, or *śvayāthika* 'one moving with a group of dogs'. Manusmṛti 4.216, while mentioning the persons at whose place a Brāhmaṇa is forbidden to take food, refers to hunters as *śvavat*. Kullūka explains the word as 'ākheṭakārtham śvanah poṣakānām', and Bṛhaspati translates it as 'trainers of hunting dogs'. Yājñavalkya 1.163 refers to these persons by the term *śvavṛttinah* (*esām annam na bhoktavyam*). The commentator explains *śvavṛtti* as *śvakaḥ śvaval lūb-dhako vā*. But it would be more proper to explain the word as 'a hunter, who obtains his maintenance from dogs'. Cf. the use of the expression *śvajīvanah puruṣah* by Durga in f. n. 1 above and 'śvanah karṣatu vṛtyarthe' in Mbh. 13.4580, quoted on page 139. In the Vāj. Sām. 16.27 (also cf. 30.7) salutations to Rudra in different forms are enumerated, and among these the hunters are referred to as *śvanin*. There we read—*namah śvanibhyo myagrabhyaś ca vo namah*. In the Vāj. Sām. 16.28 they seem to be referred to as *śvapati* 'lords of dogs'. Cf. *namah śvabhyah śvapatibhyaś ca vo namo*. Probably the hunter is intended when in the Bhāg. Pur. 9.21.9 it is said that an atithi, surrounded by dogs and later called *śvapati*, approached Runtideva to beg food. In the Harivamśa 14065, Piśāca Ghaṇṭākarma practising hunting with a troop of dogs is styled as *śvapa*.

37. *anye tu bruvate / śvaiva viścakadrah / ..... tam śkarṣati yaḥ puruṣah sa viścakadrākaraṣah /*

who drags about like a despicable dog.<sup>38</sup> RAJWADE does not explain the whole expression, as in his opinion the original reading in the Nirukta was probably *viścakadrah* and not *viścakadrūkarṣaḥ*. The reason given by him for this assumption is that in the present text of the Nirukta we have Yāska's explanation only of the former and not of the latter.<sup>39</sup> BÖHTLINGER-ROTH and MONIER-WILLIAMS only repeat what Durga has said about the expression, 'Hundezüchtiger oder Züchtiger eines Hundehalters' or 'the chastiser of a dog-keeper or of a dog.' Prof. VARMA translates the expression as explained by Durga, 'a person who punishes one whose livelihood is on dogs.'<sup>40</sup> As Prof. VARMA does not refer to the other view mentioned by Durga, he apparently supports the view of Durga.

But it seems that not Durga's view, but the one cited by him (viz., *viścakadram* = *śvānam ākarṣati* iti) is supported by the following references from the Mahābhārata. There in the Anuśāsanaparva (13. 4415 ff.) Bhīṣma narrates an old story (itihāsam purāṇam) to Yudhiṣṭhira about King Vṛṣādarbhi and the seven sages viz., Kaśyapa, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Viśvāmitra, and Jamadagni. These sages were once caught in a period of severe draught, and during their wanderings, they were once able to collect a heap of lotus-stalks from a lake. But before they could eat them, the stalks had disappeared. The sages suspected one another of theft, and in order to prove their innocence they proceeded to take oaths in turn. When his turn came Vasiṣṭha declared:

*anadhyāyaparo loke śunaḥ sa parikarṣatu* /<sup>41</sup>  
*parivraṭ kāmavṛttas tu bisastainyaṁ karoti yaḥ* //<sup>42</sup>

Thus in the first line a Brāhmaṇa, not doing his studies, but dragging dogs behind him, while sporting or hunting with them, is referred to. Brāhmaṇas who indulged in sporting with dogs were not unknown to Manu. He calls them *śvakriḍā*<sup>43</sup> and mentions them among those who are disqualified for śrāddha ceremonies. In the Bhāg. Purāṇa also we are told that those Brāhmaṇas who keep dogs and asses and practise hunting are themselves after death pierced by the arrows of Yama's men. cf. *ye tv iha vai śvagardabhapa-tayo brāhmaṇādayo mṛgayāvihārā atirthe ca mṛgān nighnanti tām api samparetāḥ lakṣyabhūtān yamapurusaḥ iṣubhir vidhyanti*.<sup>44</sup>

38. SASTR's Eng. Tr. of the Nirukta, p. 23; H. Stolz, *The Nirukta, its place in old Indian Literature and etymologies*, p. 325. (Lund. 1926).

39. Nirukta's Marathi Translation, p. 87.

40. Op. cit., p. 144.

41. The correspondence between *śunaḥ parikarṣatu* in this verse and *viścakadram* (= *śvānam*) *ākarṣati* in the interpretation referred to by Durga is worth noting.

42. Mbh. 13.4515.

43. Manu. 3.164. Kullūka explains *śvakriḍā* as *kriḍārtham śunaḥ poṣayati*.

44. Bhāg. Pur. 5.26.24.



But if the person referred to in the first line of the above Mbh. verse is identical with the *parivrāt*<sup>45</sup> of the second line, then the activity of being in the company of dogs will apply also to a wandering mendicant and not merely to a Brāhmaṇa. In this very story from the Mahābhārata we are told that in order to protect the seven sages from the Yātudhānī created by King Vṛṣādarbhi, Indra had joined them in the form of a wandering mendicant who was accompanied by a dog. (cf. *parivrajantaṁ sthūlāṅgaṁ parivrājaṁ śunā saha*).<sup>46</sup> The name of this mendicant appears in the story as *Śunaḥśakha*.

After the present story is completed, Bhīṣma narrates to Yudhiṣṭhira another similar incident which had occurred in the bygone days. At that time many sages who were on a *tīrthayātrā* were required to take oaths to prove their innocence. On that occasion Vasiṣṭha declared:

*asvādhyāyaparo loke śvānaṁ ca parikarṣatu /*  
*pure ca bhikṣuḥ bhavatu yas te harati puṣkaram //*<sup>47</sup>

The close similarity between the oath taken by Vasiṣṭha on this occasion and the one ascribed to him in the story referred to above will be easily seen. Here in the second line we have *bhikṣuḥ* in the place of *parivrāt*, and the use of *ca* in the second line shows the identity of the *bhikṣu* with the person referred to in the first line. The expression *pure ... bhavatu* seems to explain *kāmarvṛttaḥ* of the first oath as pointing to the mendicant's neglecting his duties with regard to the residence.<sup>48</sup>

45. The use of the prefix *pari* in *parikarṣatu* seems to point to such an identity with the *parivrāt*.

46. Mbh. 13.4459, 4468, 4503, etc.

47. Mbh. 13.4563.

48. In the Mbh. 13.4574 is referred to a similar mendicant staying in a house (*asthūr gṛhasasthō 'stu*). Manu (6.43) expressly states that a mendicant should not dwell in a house and should go to a village only to beg alms. Cf. *anagnir aniketaḥ svād grāmam amṛtiḥm āśrayet /*. Also cf. Yājñ. 3.57 (*bhikṣārtham grāmam āśrayet*); Viṣṇu. 96.2 (*bhikṣārtham grāmam tyāti*), 12 (*na grāme deṣṭiyām vātrim āvaset*).

But the commentator Aparārka on Yājñavalkya (3.57) observes that the rule of not staying in a village applies only to the two kinds of mendicants known as *Hamsa* and *Paramahansa*. For the other two kinds of mendicants, viz. *Kuṭicara* and *Bahūdaka*, staying in a village is permissible. In support, he also cites a passage from *Pra-jāpati*. Cf. *bhikṣārtham eva grāmam āśrayet pravīṣet / na nivṛddāyartham / tato grāmād anyatraiva niveśet / ayaṁ ca hamsaparamahansaḥ yor viddhī / kuṭicarahahūdakayoḥ tu grāme 'py avasthānam asti / tathā ca Prajāpatiḥ — "tatra parivrajakā nāma caturvidhā bhavanti tatra (te ca) kuṭicaro bahūdako hamsaḥ paramahansaś ceti / kuṭicaro nāma svagṛhe vartamāno nigatakaluṣa āhītāgntṣu bhikṣāṁ bhukṣjāno vyapagutakāmakrodhalo-bhamohāhankāro yad ātmānugrahaṁ kurute sa kuṭicaro nāma / ...."* In the Mbh. 13.6478, however, where these four kinds of mendicants are enumerated *kuṭicara* appears as *kuṭicaka*. cf.

*caturvidhā bhikṣavaḥ sa kuṭicakabahūdakan /*  
*hamsaḥ paramahansaś ca yo yath pośāt sa uttamah //*

Apparently the same stanza, but with the reading *kuṭicara*, has been quoted by Kullūka

Similar expression is also used by Aṅgiras and Parvata in their respective oaths as follows:

Aṅgiras—*aśucir brahmakūṣa*<sup>49</sup> 'stu śvānaḥ ca parikarṣatu /  
brahmahāniṣkṛtiṣ<sup>50</sup> cāstu yas te harati puṣkaram / <sup>51</sup>

while commenting on the word *vedasamnyāsa* occurring in Manu, 6.86 which he explains as a special category of the mendicants called *kuṭicara*. cf. *bhārata caturdhā bhikṣava uktāḥ—caturdhā bhikṣavaḥ tu sputḥ kuṭicarakahūdakaḥ*/. *Kuṭicara*, as a mendicant, is also found in the *Āruṇyupaniṣat* (section 2) and in the *Āśramopaniṣat* (section 4). BÖUTLINGER-ROTH appear to distinguish this word from *kuṭicaka* and give it the meaning—(*kuṭi + cara*) 'eine best. Art von Asketen, die von Hütte zu Hütte betteln gehen'.

*Kuṭicaka*, however, is not restricted to the *Mahābhārata*. It is found once again in the *Bhāg. Pur.* 3.12.43. cf. *nyāse kuṭicakah pūrvam bahavo haṁsanīṣkṛipau*. Among the Sanskrit lexicons, *Trikāṇḍa*, 3.11 gives *putrānūda* and *kuṭicaka* as synonyms. In these two names, the former seems to show that this kind of mendicant was looked after by his son for his maintenance. The commentator, who also notes the variants *kuṭicaka* and *kuṭicara*, explains the word as *kuṭyām kuṭau vā cakāṁ tṛpyati*. BÖUTLINGER-ROTH seem to follow this commentator when they explain the formation as follows—'Das wort zerlegt sich in *kuṭi + caka* (von *kan*; vgl. *cak*) der noch einer Hütte Gefallen findet.' MONIER-WILLIAMS almost does the same thing when he gives the meaning, 'delighting in staying in the house' (*kuṭi* 'house'), 'a kind of religious mendicant (who lives at his son's expense)'. The same meaning is ascribed to *kuṭicara* by Kullūka (cf. his commentary on Manu, 6.86) who refers for this meaning to Manu, 6.95: *sauhyasya sarvakarmāṇi karmadoṣān apānudan/ niyato vedam abhyasya putraśvārye sukham vaset*//

In *Ind. St.* 2, p. 179, we find the following foot note on *kuṭicara*: "an ascetic of a particular order, one who consigns the care of his family to his son and remains at home engaged solely in devotion: WILSON s.v." In the *Āśramopaniṣat* (section 4), these ascetics are described as begging alms at the houses of their sons, cf. *tatra kuṭicārāḥ svaputra-grheṣu bhikṣācaryāṇāṁ caranta ātmānaḥ prārtheyante*. BONHOFF, however, while translating the above passage from the *Bhāg. Pur.* (3.12.43), renders *kuṭicaka* as "ceux qui ayant tout abandonné, tiennent encore aux devoirs de leur ordre."

If a mendicant could also be seen moving in the company of dogs, as is seen in some of the passages cited from the *Mahābhārata* above, one is tempted to analyse *viścakādra* as *viścaka-dra* 'a dog moving with *viścaka*', and understand \**viścaka*, which is not recorded in literature, as a kind of mendicant like *kuṭicaka*. \**viś-caka* would mean 'one who likes to dwell in a settlement or a house', perhaps said sarcastically of a monk who does not observe the rules of residence and still lives in a house or in a town. (cf. *pure ca bhikṣur bhavatu* cited from the *Mbh.* 13.4563 above). But this explanation is not possible because *kuṭicaka* itself, on the basis of which \**viścaka* is presupposed, is rendered doubtful by the variant *kuṭicara*. Moreover this explanation presupposes that Yāska probably did not know a base like *viścaka* applied to a kind of mendicants. On the other hand Yāska clearly gives the base *cakādra* used in his days in the sense of 'a dog's gait'.

49. MONIER-WILLIAMS gives for *brahmakūṣa* the meaning 'a thoroughly learned Brāhman' which is hardly applicable here.

50. The printed text reads *brahmahā niṣkṛtiṣ* which is obviously a mistake.

51. *Mbh.* 13. 4569.



Parvata—grāme cādhikṛtaḥ so 'stu kharayānena gacchata /  
śunaḥ karṣatu vṛttiyarthe yas te harati puṣkaram /<sup>52</sup>

A different explanation of *viścakadrākaraṣa* is perhaps possible. SARUP has already felt that in this compound a comparison is intended between *viścakadra* and *ākaraṣa*, cf. his trans. 'one who drags about like a despicable dog' given above. However, he does not seem to have rendered the comparison well, as *ākaraṣa* can hardly mean 'one who drags about'. If, on the other hand, we are right in interpreting *viścakadra* as a dog, we may not separate the expression *viścakadrākaraṣaḥ* from *ākaraṣaśvaḥ* which is given as an illustration in the *Kāśikā* and the later grammatical treatises while commenting on Pāṇini's sūtra 5. 4. 97—'upamānād aprāṇiṣu'. The sūtra teaches the use of the suffix *a* (jac) after *śvan* 'a dog' when this word comes at the end of a tat-puruṣa compound and is employed as upamāna for an inanimate object. The one instance given to illustrate the rule is *ākaraṣaśvaḥ* which is explained as *ākaraṣaḥ śveva*. The context clearly shows that here comparison is intended between *ākaraṣa* and *śvan*, but it is still to be seen how this comparison can be understood. That will naturally depend on the meaning of *ākaraṣaḥ* in the present context. Neither BÖHTLINGK-ROTH nor MONIER-WILLIAMS is here helpful because they do not assign any meaning to *ākaraṣaśvaḥ*. The word *ākaraṣa* is explained by the author of the *Bāṣamanoramā* commentary (p. 539) as some wooden instrument (having five points like the fingers of a hand) used for the drawing of corn from granary.<sup>53</sup> Though this and the other commentaries do not further explain the comparison contained in *ākaraṣaśvaḥ*, it seems that according to the commentators here the action of drawing out the corn with the wooden instrument is compared with the digging of the ground done by a dog with its paw.

This meaning of *ākaraṣaśvaḥ* appears satisfactory. However it may be pointed out that in the above compound *ākaraṣa* is compared to a dog<sup>53a</sup> and not

52. Mbh. 13. 4580. A Brāhmaṇa is not expected to go in a *uṣṭrayāna* or a *kharayāna*. cf. *Manu* 11.202; *Yājñ.* 3.291; *Viṣṇu*, 54.23.

53. *ākṛṣyate kusūlādigatadhānyam anenety ākaraṣaḥ pañcāṅgulo dhāruviśeṣaḥ*. Śabdārthacintāmaṇi explains it similarly—*ākaraṣaḥ kṣāṭhaviśeṣo/ ākṛṣyate 'nena khalādigataḥ dhānyam ity ākaraṣaḥ*. This is also adopted by the *Tattvabodhinī* commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. In the *Sanskrit Lexicon ākaraṣaṇa* (-ni) is given to mean a crooked stick for pulling down fruits etc. cf. the *Śabdakalpadruma* as cited in the *Śabdārthacintāmaṇi*. (*phalopuspādyaḥ ākaraṣaṇo-vaṣṭikāviśeṣaḥ*).

53a. S. C. Vasu, Eng. Tr. of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, p. 466 and recently RENOU, *La Grammaire de Pāṇini* (Paris, 1951), II, p. 128 therefore seem to translate the compound as 'a dog-like bow' and 'arc en forme de chien' respectively. But it is difficult to understand this comparison. Kumudaranjan RAY in his edn. of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* with Eng. Tr. II. 124 renders the compound as 'an wooden *ākaraṣa* resembling a dog' and explains *ākaraṣa* in his *Sanskrit* commentary as '*pañcāṅgulo dhānyādhikaraṣaḥ kṣāṭhaviśeṣo ākaraṣaḥ, yena ātapo śoṣaṇārtham dhānyādhikam prāṅgane ākṛṣya vikṣipyate ātapātyaye ca*



to its paw. It would therefore be more natural to take *ḍkarṣaḥ* as an agent noun referring to the person who does an action comparable to that of a dog and it is possible to imagine one who draws lines on the ground with his foot like a dog. The commentators were forced to interpret *ḍkarṣa* as a wooden instrument because the word has occurred in an instance which exemplifies Pāṇini's sūtra which teaches the use of affix -a after *śvan* when an inanimate object (*apṛāṇiṣu*) is compared with it. But in the case of *viścakadrākarṣaḥ*, the word '*śvan*' for dog is not used. Hence in this case we are free to interpret *ḍkarṣa* as an agent noun and understand the comparison as between a man and a dog drawing lines on the ground (*viścakadra ivākarṣaḥ*).

The verb  $\sqrt{\text{karṣ}}$  in the sense 'draw lines on the ground (with *sphya*)' is used in the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra 5. 1. 4. Read—*sphyenāhavaniyāt pāmśūn upahatyottarasyaṁ vedaḥ dakṣiṇād antāt karṣaṇaṁ iyād āvedi* / The Brahman priest is here enjoined to draw a line (*karṣaṇa*) from the southern end of the Uttarā Veda upto the Veda. This act of drawing line with *sphya* is often expressed with the verb  $\sqrt{\text{likh}}$ ,<sup>54</sup> with or without some prefixes. Thus we read in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā 5. 1. 3. 4—*parilīkhati rakṣasām apahatyai / tisṛbhīḥ parilīkhati triṣṭvā vā agnir yāvān evāgnis tasmād rakṣasāṁ apahanti* / This refers to the drawing of the three lines by the Adhvaryu priest round the fire to ward off demons. Similarly at the commencement of the Agnyādhāna, the Adhvaryu draws lines on the ground in order to remove that part of earth which is trodden or spit upon. With regard to this it is said in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>55</sup> (2. 1. 1. 2)—*atholīkhati / tad yad evāsyai pythivyā abhiṣṭhitam vā abhiṣṭhyūtam vā tad evāsyā etad uddhanti . . . . tasmād vā ullīkhati* /

This interchange between  $\sqrt{\text{karṣ}}$ - and  $\sqrt{\text{likh}}$ - is observed also in later literature. In the Harivaṁśa (5778) the river Yamunā dragged by Balarāma is said to be *lāṅgalolīkhitā*.<sup>56</sup> Otherwise the use of  $\sqrt{\text{karṣ}}$  with *lāṅgala* is fairly common. cf. *tasya lāṅgalahastasya karṣato yajñamaṇḍalam* (Rām. 3.4.12), *karṣanto lāṅgalaiḥ* (Mbh. 3.13825), etc. With the base  $\sqrt{\text{kṛṣ}}$ , we have in the Ṛgveda *śunām naḥ phālā vi kṛṣantu bhūmim* (4. 57. 8; also cf.

*sakṣhyate* (sic) *sah* / This is similar to the meaning given by other Sanskrit commentators referred to above. The author, however, here understands the comparison with the dog and not with its paw as suggested above.

54. The commentator, on the above passage from the Lāṭyāyana, says—*kṛṣa vilīkhanē* /

55. For drawing lines on the ground with the horn of a black antelope, cf. Kāty. Śr. S. (Acyuta Granthamālā, No. 4, Kashi) 7.2.23—*bhūmau colīkhati*—commentator—*īrṅgeṇa bhūmau rekṣam kuryāt*; also cf. 7.6.17; Āp. Śr. S. (Gange, Calcutta, 1882) 1.8.8, 25.14; 7.3.14; Śat. Br. 3.3.15.6; 3.6.13, etc.

56. Also cf. Ind. Spr. 331—*sauceraṇair lāṅgalāgrair vilīkhati samudhām arka-mūlasya ketoh*.



10.117.7). Derivatives from both  $\sqrt{\text{karṣ}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{likh}}$  are found side by side in the following verse from the Kathāsaritsāgara (33. 31)—

*yāvad vrajāmi tāvac ca lāṅgalollikhitāvanim /  
gāyantam kañcid adrākṣam kārṣikam kṣetramadhyagam //*

With regard to the action of digging the ground with the toes by the human beings, the same verb  $\sqrt{\text{likh}}$  is often used. It appears that this activity was regarded as a *śrīgāraceṣṭā*, and the circumstances in which the persons are described as involved in drawing lines on the ground fully justify this supposition. Thus in the description of the princes gathered for the svayamvara of Indumatī, we read<sup>57</sup>—

*ākuñcitāgrāṅgulīnā tato 'nyaḥ kimcitsamāvarjitanetraśobhaḥ /  
tiryaguisamsarpinakhaprabheṇa pādenahaimam vililekha pīṭham<sup>58</sup> //*

Similarly while describing the *niṅitāni* of a *nāyikā*, it is said in the Sāhityadarpaṇa<sup>59</sup>—*aṅguṣṭhāgreṇa likhati sakatākṣam nirikṣate / daśati svadharam cāpi brūte priyam adhomukhī //*

The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (3.23.50) describes Devahūti, when Maitreya was about to leave her, as follows:—

*likhanty adhomukhī bhūmim padā nakhamanīśriyā /  
uvāca lalitām vācam nirudhyāśrukalām śanaiḥ //*

Description of the cowherdresses who had come to sport with Kṛṣṇa, on hearing his advice to return to their respective homes, runs as follows:—

*kṛtvā mukhāny ava śucaḥ śvasanena śuśyad-  
bimbādharaṇī caraṇena bhuvam likhantyaḥ / Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.  
29.29.*

The Amarśataka<sup>60</sup> at one place describes the lover who is waiting for his beloved to give up her pride as—*likham āste bhūmim bahir avanataḥ*

57. Raghuvamśa 6.15.

58. Here of course the lines are drawn not on the ground but on the footstool of gold. It appears that this act of drawing lines on the ground with toes came to be regarded as a bad behaviour and hence Manu forbids a Brāhmaṇa from doing it—*na caiva pralikhed bhūmim*, 4.55; also cf. Viṣṇu 71.41 (JOLLY—Institutes of Viṣṇu) *na bhuvam ālikhet*; Sūtras 2.144.21 (Calcutta edn.) *na bhūmim vilikhet*. In a stanza contained in the *Indische Sprüche* (4462) this act of *kṛtīnakhalikhana* is mentioned among those which indicate loss of wealth. That is the reason why Mallinātha while commenting on the above stanza from the Raghuvamśa observes—*bhūmivilikhako 'yam apalakṣyaḥ tīndu-matpīśuṣoḥ / bhūmivilikhanam tu lakṣmivinaśahetuḥ*

59. 3.147 (Shri Venkatesvara Press edition, Bombay, 1916).

60. Verse 7, Bombay, 1889 (Kāvya-mālā 18).

*prāṇadayito*. At another place the same work<sup>61</sup> describes the beloved, when the lover was about to go on journey, with the following words :—

*mama paṭam avalambya prolīkhaṇtī dharitṛiṃ /*  
*yad anu kṛtavatī sā tatra vāco nivṛttāḥ / /*

This gesture not only indicated *śṛigāra*, but also showed arrogance on the part of the person doing it. This is evident from the actions of Duryodhana in the presence of the sage Maitreya who was advising him to keep good relations with the Pāṇḍavas—

*evam tu bruvatas tasya Maitreyasya viśāṃ pate /*  
*ūruṃ gajakarākāraṃ kareṇābhijaghāna saḥ / /*  
*Duryodhanah smitaṃ kṛtvā caranēnālīkhan mahīm /*

....  
*taṃ aśuśrūṣaṃ māṇaṃ tu vilīkhaṇtaṃ vasundharāṃ /*  
*dr̥ṣtvā Duryodhanaṃ rājan Maitreyaṃ kopa āviśat / /*

Mbh. 3.11.28 ff.

The same action, however, indicates only dejection of mind in the following description of Bharata when he informs Vasiṣṭha that he would not accept the kingdom of Ayodhyā—

*taṃ avākīrasaṃ bhūmiṃ caraṇāgreṇa Rāghavaṃ /*  
*vilīkhaṇtaṃ uvācārtaṃ Vasiṣṭho bhagavān ṛṣiḥ / /*

Rāmāyaṇa 2.80.15.

The same verb is also used when some animals are described as engaged in doing a similar action, e.g.

- (1) Śiva's bull on the mountain Himālaya is described as :—

*tuṣārasaṅghātaśilāḥ khurāgraiḥ*  
*saṃullīkhan dārpakalaḥ kakudmān / Kumāra. 1. 56.*

- (2) The pupil of Kaṇva while describing the early morning makes a reference to the deer with the following words—

*vediprāntāt khuravilīkhāt.... /*

; Śākuntala 4, first interpolated verse after 3.

- (3) About the boar seen by Arjuna it is said—

*nighnaṇ prothēna pṛthivīm vilīkhaṇś caraṇair api /*

Mbh. 3.163, 18.

- (4) The Varāha Bhatsaṃhitā (28.5) includes the following among the signs of imminent rain :—

*mārjārā bhṛśaṃ avanīm nakhair likhanto*

.....  
*saṃprāptaṃ jalam acirān nivedayanti / /*

It will thus be seen that the action of drawing lines on the ground with a foot by men and animals is expressed by the verb *√likh*. A similar use of

61. Op. cit., verse 103.



√*karṣ* could not be traced by me. I have, however, shown above that an interchange between these two verbs has been attested to since early times. If on the basis of that evidence we are permitted to derive *ākaraṣa* from √*karṣ* = √*likh* (note the use of ā√*likh* above) in the sense of 'drawing lines on the ground', then the substantive could be taken as an agent noun<sup>62</sup> referring to the person involved in such action. The compound expression *viścakadrākarṣaḥ* involving comparison, thus comes to mean 'a person scratching the ground with his foot as a dog with its paw.' It is well-known that a dog is often used as an upamāna for a beggar<sup>63</sup> and a servant.<sup>64</sup> Comparison with a dog in the sense of 'a dog in the manger' is also familiar. If the present interpretation of *viścakadrākarṣaḥ* is correct then it would point to one more activity on the basis of which a man could be compared to a dog. At the moment, however, this suggestion may be taken for what it is worth for want of sufficient support.

One more thing of grammatical interest still remains to be noted. In *ākaraṣaśvaḥ* we have the upamāna *śvā* as the second member of the compound (*ākaraṣaḥ śvā iva*), and this is the normal order of words in compounds where the common property between the upamāna and the upameya is not stated.<sup>65</sup> But in *viścakadrākarṣaḥ* the upamāna happens to be the first member of a compound (*viścakadrāḥ iva ākaraṣaḥ*). Now compounds of this type with the reversed order of the upamāna and the upameya are not altogether unknown to Sanskrit literature, and the commentator cites the instance *phalakasaktham* on Pāṇini 5.4.98.<sup>66</sup> Here the upamāna stands as the first member in a compound (*phalakam iva sakthī*), thus showing the reversed order. The commentary Tattvabodhinī on the Siddhāntakaumudī (p. 179 Nirṇayasāgara edn., Bombay) cites the view of Mādhava<sup>67</sup> who, taking a clue from *phalakasaktha*, would form such compounds with upamāna as the first member in a general way. In fact Vopadeva<sup>68</sup> explains even *ākaraṣaśvaḥ* as a compound with upamāna as the first member (*ākaraṣa iva śvā*) and following him BÖHTLINGK<sup>69</sup> translates Pāṇini's Sūtra 5.4.97 (*upamānād aprāṇiṣu*) cited above as "Auch nach einem Worte, mit dem *śvan* verglichen wird, wenn jenes kein lebendes Wesen bezeichnet." He also explains *ākaraṣaśvaḥ* = *ākaraṣa iva śvā*.

62. The *kṛt* suffix—*a* (-ac) signifying the agent is taught by Pāṇini after the verbs *pacādi* (3.1.134) which is an *āḥrtigana*; also cf. WINTERY, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1148-1c (p. 423).

63. Cf. *śrāmyaty ātmodarārthe katham ahaha śunā no samo yācakaḥ syāt/* Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra 74.78.

64. Cf. the illustration *atiśvi sevā* on Pāṇ. 5.4.96. It is explained as *śvaṇam atikrāntā/ śvāpekṣayā atinīd/*

65. Pāṇini 2.1.56.

66. *uttaramṣṭrapūrvaś ca sakthinaḥ/* (caum. *calāntā upamānāś ca*).

67. *ata eva jñāpakād asminānyavacanānāpy upamānasya samāś itī Mādhavaḥ/*

68. Mugdhabodha 6, 42 (p. 58), ed. O. BÖHTLINGK. (St. Petersburg, 1847).

69. Pāṇini's Grammatik, p. 276 (Leipzig, 1887).

## A PASSAGE FROM HARIBHADRA'S SAMARĀDITYAKATHĀ

BY

A. M. GHATGE, *Dharwar*

Among the numerous works in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, the *Samarādityakathā* of Haribhadra undoubtedly occupies a prominent place. But in the absence of a close study of this masterpiece of a great poet and scholar, many of its beauties remain hidden from us. A number of passages from his work are in need of a closer interpretation and explanation. As a striking example I discuss here a small passage from the sixth Bhava of this work, which must be explained in a manner different from the attempts made so far and which reveals a fine sense of humour and resourcefulness on the part of Haribhadra.

Dharaṇa, the hero of the story, who is married to Lakṣmī, his inveterate enemy of many previous births, passes through many adventures. Once while he is sleeping in a temple outside a town called Mahāsaras, along with his wife after an escape from danger, a thief enters the place to avoid being caught by the constables pursuing him for robbing the royal treasury. Dharaṇa, due to the fatigue of the earlier day, is fast asleep and Lakṣmī alone becomes aware of the presence of the thief Caṇḍarudda. With a diabolic idea in her mind, she approaches him stealthily and wants to know from him his difficulty. Caṇḍarudda explains to her that he is being followed by the constables and he is hiding in the temple in order to escape them. Lakṣmī promises to help him and explains her plan to abandon her real husband Dharaṇa to the constables as the thief and eloping with Caṇḍarudda by claiming him as her husband in the presence of the king if need arises.

To this suggestion Caṇḍarudda makes the following answer, at the same time refusing to follow her suggestion and giving reasons for it. His words are: (*Caṇḍaruddheṇa bhaṇiyam*) / *sundari, atthi eyaṃ, kiṃtu ahaṃ ettha vatthavvao caucaranapaḍibaddho* / *ao viyāṇai me taṃ agahīyaṇāmaṃ sarvaloo ceva ettha mahīliyaṃ ti* / The context makes it clear that the general sense of the passage is to point out the difficulties which Caṇḍarudda feels in claiming Lakṣmī to be his wife in open court. For one thing, he is a resident of this place and naturally people know him rather well. Secondly he is already married and all the people of the town know his wife too well to believe that Lakṣmī could be that lady. He himself suggests the use of a magic pill to escape and elopes with Lakṣmī, as the story progresses.



Two words in this short passage *caucaraṇapaḍibaddha* and *agahīyā-nāmaṁ* . . . *mahiliyaṁ* deserve special consideration. The Sanskrit *chāyā* and the annotations given so far have all failed to point out the real significance of these expressions which Haribhadra has chosen with a purpose. *Caucaraṇapaḍibaddha* is vaguely explained as *bhāryāyukta* 'married' and *agahīyānāmaṁ* is taken to mean that the people of the town know her but not her name. While the sense of the first word can suit the context and gives us the required sense the meaning of the second is both logically and contextually absurd. To know his wife but not her name can in no way add to the difficulties of claiming Lakṣmī to be his wife for the thief. It is simply irrelevant and Haribhadra, a careful writer, is not likely to add such an expression without some significance.

The passage will gain in meaning and value if we attempt a more precise sense of these two words used here. The robber Caṇḍarudda is speaking with a strain of sarcasm and alludes to his hopelessly unhappy married life and is using language with a sting in it. Both appear to be extempore formations based on popular expressions intended to give vent to bitterness. In popular Marāṭhī there is a famous expression *caturbhuja hoṇē* in the sense of getting married and usage has humorously extended its use to the act of getting captured. No explanation is available for this use except the vague idea that the man will have four arms, by counting the arms of his wife. This will not however explain its extended sense, which implies that the man is imagined as having four arms, which in the later case may be due to the custom of tying ropes to his arms when led captive. Apart from this problem which must be left to the study of the Marāṭhī idiom, it is evident that Haribhadra had before him, this or a similar expression in the sense of 'to get married' which alone would explain the twist he has given to it to allude to the unhappy marriage of the thief, possibly with a shrew. In contrast with the expression *caturbhujapratibaddha*, if we may guess such a Sanskrit word, Haribhadra coins a parallel word *caturḥcaraṇapratibaddha* meaning 'having the ill luck of getting married.' But there is, I think, a deeper suggestion in it. *Caturbhuja*, in Classical Sanskrit, is the most frequent epithet of Viṣṇu and we know that Indian custom considered the bridegroom as a form of this great god at the time of marriage, as can be seen from the phrase *viṣṇurūpiṇe varāya*. Though the words of the ritual are late, they reveal an essentially popular idea involved in marriage. Thus *caturbhujapratibaddha* may well have been intended to allude to this temporary deification of the *vata* by identifying him with Viṣṇu. Now Haribhadra has turned the tables as it were and coined the word *caturḥcaraṇapratibaddha*, exploiting in full the other sense of *caturḥcaraṇa* a synonym of *caturpāda* 'a beast'. The expression thus means, if rendered fully: 'I have been led in a wedlock, thereby degrading myself to the state of a beast.' The contrast between *caturbhuja* and *caturḥcaraṇa* gets its full force, alluding to the unhappy marriage of the speaker.

Still more striking is the sense of the other expression *agr̥h̥itanāma* (-*nāmnī*) *mahilikā*. What the thief wants to say is the fact that he cannot agree to claim Lakṣmī as his wife because his real wife is well known and is still alive. This would become clear if we recollect the original Sanskrit expression after which this word was newly coined by Haribhadra. This is undoubtedly the word *sugr̥h̥itanāman*. Long ago Lévi discussed the meaning of this word along with three others, occurring in the inscription of Rudradāman, in works of dramaturgy, in Bāṇa's works and in the lexicons. He came to the conclusion that the word *sugr̥h̥itanāman* is used in two distinct senses (i) as a mode of address used by the disciple, a son or a younger brother to designate a person to whom he owes respect and (ii) in a funeral sense as it were, when a deceased person is respectfully referred to. This second usage is frequent in the works of Bāṇa (cf. *evam uparate'pi sugr̥h̥itanāmnī tâte*) and in the inscriptions (cf. inscriptions of Rudradāman and Maṅgaleśa). Lévi defines the sense of the word as 'to mention the name of a person, more especially a dead person accompanied with qualifications which bring good fortune, and which, thanks to their value as omens, may have a happy influence on the posthumous destiny of the deceased or on the future destiny of the living' (IA. xxii p. 167).

Here is again an extempore creation of a word by Haribhadra meant as a counterpart to *sugr̥h̥itanāman*, used in the sense of one whose name no one would like to mention for fear of misfortune and an implied suggestion that the person is yet alive. The robber, as the sequel tells us, has no objection to run away with Lakṣmī but he cannot claim her as his wife in public for unfortunately his wife is alive and a source of ill luck to him. And people know her too well. He is thus sorry to tell her that he is married, that his wife is still alive and people know her well. Therefore he cannot accept her suggestion.

We here see Haribhadra using language with a suppleness and a fine sense of humour which is as suggestive as it is forceful. It expresses with extreme brevity the suppressed feelings of the robber about his unlucky marriage.



## MARATHI ELEMENTS IN A PRAKRIT DRAMA

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, *Kolhapur*

The use of language in India has thrived all along in two channels: the literary and the popular. The first is essentially a book-language, polished and cultivated according to rules of grammar and perpetuated in well-trained memory before it came to be committed to writing: this was obviously the concern of a chosen few, of the literate and learned and of the priest and pundit. The latter was a practical pursuit and a spontaneous effort. The large mass of illiterate population inherited some form or the other of a language and went on using it for mutual understanding. This evolved more speedily and varied in different localities in the absence of any strict grammatical standard and fixed literary models. By the very nature of the situation, these two could not have been water-tight compartments. The records in Old-Indo-Āryan do indicate that elements from popular dialects have percolated in them; and the Vedic language shows what are called Prākritisms, obviously from the stratum of a predecessor of Middle-Indo-Āryan which was shaping itself in the popular mouths before it came to be given the status of a literary or book language.

The dialects of illiterate masses were designated at different times and in different places by terms such as *Loka-bhāṣā* (i.e., common man's speech), *Prākṛta* (i.e., natural speech of the populace), *Deśi-bhāṣā* (i.e., local or country language), *Apabhraṃśa* or *Avahaṭṭhā* (i.e., deviating from the standard language), etc. Some of these very terms, as time passed on, came to be used to designate some or the other dialect of a locality that was given the status of a standardised literary language and used in literature. In the literary Prākritis, right from the beginning, we find the *Apabhraṃśa* elements steadily intruding; and further, both Prākṛit and *Apabhraṃśa* (Middle-Indo-Āryan) works show *Deśi* elements, some of which are New-Indo-Āryan in nature. These *Deśi* elements include Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian elements as well. The whole process is highly complicated and intermingled, and therefore, it is often difficult to locate these popular elements to their sources, in the absence of authentic records.<sup>1</sup> It is proposed in this paper to put together the various Marāṭhī elements found in a Prākṛit drama.

1. G. GRIMSON: On the Modern Indo-Āryan Vernaculars, *Indian Antiquary*, vols. LX-LXII, paragraphs 54, etc.; A. N. UPADHYE: *Candralekhā*, Bombay 1945, Intro., pp. 24 ff.; S. N. GHOSAL: *Apabhraṃśa* and post-*Apabhraṃśa* Features in the early Prākritis, *I.H.Q.*, XXX, pp. 245 ff.

Ghanaśyāma was a native of Mahārāṣṭra, but resided in Tanjore having become the minister of Tukkoji I (A.D. 1729-35) of Tanjore. He was a voluminous writer, starting his literary career at the age of 12. As he himself reports, he composed 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prākṛit and 25 in vernacular. He covers various branches of literature: plays, poems, anthologies, Campūs, commentaries and treatises on technical subjects like grammar, rhetorics, philosophy, etc. In fine, he was a tireless writer and a prodigy indeed: some of his commentaries were produced within a day, or a night, or even a part of it. He is offensively vain and self-conceited; he paraded his learning in various quarters; and he was out to show that he was superior to many of his predecessors. It is this trait of his that often induced him to strike novel notes in his literary undertakings.

Lately, a critical edition of Ghanaśyāma's *Anandasundarī* is brought out by me.<sup>2</sup> It is a Saṭṭaka, a drama entirely in Prākṛit, like the *Karpūra-mañjarī*<sup>3</sup> of Rājaśekhara (c. 900 A.D.) and *Rambhāmañjarī*<sup>4</sup> of Nayacandra (c. beginning of the 15th century A.D.). Rājaśekhara's ancestors came from Mahārāṣṭra, and what are termed Marāṭhicisms<sup>5</sup> are detected in the *Karpūra-mañjarī* in a good measure. Nayacandra was staying in the neighbourhood of Mahārāṣṭra, and possibly therefore, he has introduced a Marāṭhī song in his play.<sup>6</sup> Almost continuing the early practice of using Deśī words in Prākṛit, Ghanaśyāma freely and studiously introduces in his *Anandasundarī*<sup>7</sup> a number of formations from nouns and verbs available in Marāṭhī; and they are presented below with a few critical remarks.

*aṭṭhara* (*attadasa* corrected as *aṭṭhara* in P, but T has *yaṭṭhāraha*), p. 23, Pk. *aṭṭhāraha*, Mar. (āṭhī) *āṭharā*, eighteen.

*abbhālādo* (°du), p. 53, Abl. sg. of *abbhāla*, Mar. *ābhāla*, cloud; the sentence *kiṃ abbhālādo paḍido eso bālo* closely resembles the Mar. expression *maga kāya ābhālātūna paḍalā hā mulegā?*, quite common even to this day. Bha(ṭṭanātha) who has written a Sk. commentary on this play remarks thus: *abbhāla-śabdo deśīyah/*.

*ummaṭṭa*, p. 25, rendered by *ummatta* in Sk., but cf. Mar. *urmaṭa*, offensive.

*kaḍḥilla*, p. 31, generally spelt as *kaḍilla*, meaning *kaṭī-vastra*; in the border land a word *kaḍela* is used in Mar. for costly silken *sāḍī*.

2. Published by Motilal Banarasi Dass, Banaras 1955.

3. KONOW and LANMAN: H.O.S., Cambridge Mass 1901.

4. Ed. RAMCANDRA DINANATHA, Bombay 1889.

5. See LANMAN's remarks in the above ed. p. 201.

6. Candrakāśhā, Intro. p. 42.

7. The references to pages noted below have the above edition in view.



- kalli*, p. 5, Loc. sg. of *kalla*; *kalli jjeva pahatte*, cf. Mar. *kālaca pahāṭe*, just yesterday morning.
- kamcoli*, p. 10, cf. Mar. *kācoḷi*.
- kiyattī*, p. 13, cf. Mar. *kitī*.
- koḍa*, p. 1, Pk. *koḍḍa* or *kuḍḍa*, cf. Mar. *koḍa-kautuka* which is a double formation.
- khāḍao*, p. 12, Deśī *khattikka*, cf. Mar. *khāṭika*, a butcher.
- khidakkīā*, p. 24, Deśī *khadakkīā*, a side-door, cf. Mar. *khidakī*, a window.
- geha-jāmāduo*, p. 15, Mar. *ghara-jāvaī*, a son-in-law staying in father-in-law's house.
- golī*, p. 13, Kannaḍa *gauḷi*, a domestic lizard. Ghanaśyāma observes thus: *golī savvāṇa vi saṇṇam kahedi, saṇṇ gadua taṇḍula-jala-bhaṇḍe paḍaī*; but the meaning of this is not quite clear. Bha. remarks on this: *eṣa mahārāṣṭrīya ābhāṇakah* /.
- ghaḍighaḍiam*, pp. 12, 16, cf. Mar. *ghaḍighaḍi* or *ghaḍoghaḍa*, every moment.
- ghoḍo*, p. 3, Deśī *ghoḍa*, Mar. *ghoḍā*. Ghanaśyāma refers to horses from Sindhudeśa where Dūrvā grass appears to be rare.
- gholo*, p. 10, Bha. interprets it thus: *āpāda-lambi-nīvī-sāra-samuccayaḥ* /, cf. Mar. *ghōḷa*, also *pāyaghoḷa*, hanging as far as feet.
- cahuṭṭa*, p. 6, Deśī meaning *nīmagna* or *līna*, but here *madhura* according to the comm., cf. colloquial Mar. *cakoṭa*.
- jāmbāla*, p. 42, Deśī *jāmbula*, Mar. *jāmbhala* or *jāmbhūḷa*, colloquial Kannaḍa *jāmbaḷi*, a kind of fruit.
- ḍulkarī*, p. 39, cf. Mar. *ḍulckara*, a pig or hog.
- dolesuṁ*, p. 16, Loc. pl. of *dola*, Mar. *ḍolā*, eye. This is a marginal correction for *nettesuṁ* in Ms. P.
- dāī*, p. 14, this is a marginal correction for *dhattī*, Pk. *dhāī*, Mar. *dāī*, a maid-servant.
- dhūra*, p. 7, this is a correction of *dhūma*; Mar. *dhūra*, smoke.
- pahatte*, p. 5, Loc. sg. of *pahatta*, Mar. *pahāṭa*, morning.
- pīmjara*, p. 30, cf. Mar. *pīmjarā*, a cage.
- peṭṭārae*, p. 19, Loc. sg. of *peṭṭāraa*, Deśī *peḍā*, Mar. *peṭūrā*, a box.
- poṭṭae*, p. 6, Loc. sg. of *poṭṭaa*, Mar. *poṭa*, stomach.
- poraa*, pp. 2-3, Mar. *poragā*, a boy.

- bahiratṭha*, p. 22, *bahiro* is corrected into *bahiratṭho*, cf. Mar. *bahiraṭa*, a deaf person.
- baṭṭakkī*, p. 15, Mar. *baṭika*, a maid servant.
- bāilā*, p. 52, meaning woman or wife, cf. Mar. *bāila-veḍā*.
- budaṇa*, p. 24, Pk. *buddaṇa*, Mar. *budaṇē*, sinking.
- makkaḍa-ceṭṭhā*, p. 14, cf. Mar. *mākaḍa-ceṭṭā*, monkey-like behaviour; the phrase is current in Marāṭhī even today.
- meṅgo*, p. 19, Nom. sg. of *meṅga*; according to the Sk. comm. *itthī-meṅgo strī-lampataḥ/ meṅgo iti deśīyaḥ śabdaḥ/*, cf. Mar. *meṅgaḷā*, weak.
- moccīā*, pp. 8, 10, Mar. *mojā* (?), Kannaḍa *mōcci*, shoe.
- lahu-saṁkā*, p. 9, cf. Mar. *laghu-śaṁkā*, passing urine.
- lamba*, p. 20, a marginal correction for *dīha*, cf. Mar. *lāmba*, long.
- viṁcua*, p. 30, this spelling is known to Pks., but it is very near the Mar. *viṁcū*, a scorpion.
- savattīā*, p. 20, cf. Mar. *savata*, a cowife.
- sonṇa*, p. 24, this spelling is available in Pk; cf. Mar. *sonē*, gold; in Kannaḍa *hōṇna*, in Mar. *hoṇa*.
- soṁga*, p. 18, comm. *soṁga-śabdo veṣa-vācakaḥ deśīyaḥ/* cf. Mar. *soṁga*.
- huḍugga*, p. 52, cf. Kannaḍa *huḍuga*, a boy.

Ghanaśyāma uses a number of verbal forms, the roots being very much alike to those in Marāṭhī:

- ullaṁḍia*, p. 43, Gerund from *ullaṁḍa-*, cf. Mar. *olāṁḍaṇē*, to cross, Deśī *ullaṁḍia*, driven out.
- kappūṇa*, p. 49, Gerund from *kappa-*, cf. Mar. *kāpūna*, Gerund of *kāpaṇē*.
- ghusehī*, p. 32, Imp. 2nd p. sg. of *ghusa-* to enter, cf. Mar. *ghusaṇē*.
- gheūṇa*, p. 11, Gerund from *ghe-*, in Prākṛit too: cf. Mar. *gheūna*, Gerund of *gheṇē*, to take; similarly *hoūṇa* on the margin of Ms. P for *bhavia*, p. 5, and *khāūṇa* for *bhakkhīa*, p. 46: both *hoūna* and *khāūna* are available in Mar.
- cakkhaye*, p. 12, Loc. sg. of *cakkhaya*, in Pk. too; cf. Mar. *cākhaṇē*; see also *cakkhijjanta*, p. 3.
- jhakkia*, p. 6, Gerund from *jhakka-* to cover, cf. Mar. *jhākaṇē*.
- jhurasi*, p. 20, Present 2nd p. sg., Deśī *jūra-* and *jhūra-*, cf. Mar. *jhuraṇē*.



- ṭakkaī*, p. 42, Present 3rd p. sg. of *ṭakka-*, cf. Mar. *ṭākanē*. There is a remark on the margin *ṭakkaī soḍai iti vā pāṭhaḥ* /.
- ṭhakkāmi*, p. 15, Present 1st p. sg. cf. Mar. *thakanē*, to halt, to be exhausted.
- ṭhevvūṇa*, p. 6, Gerund, cf. Mar. *ṭhevanē*; *nāmahejjaṃ ṭhevvūṇa* reminds one of Mar. *nāva ṭhevūna*.
- ḍhakkalanṭio*, p. 30, cf. Mar. *ḍhakalanē*; also *ḍhakkalanijjā*, p. 50.
- ṛījaī*, p. 30, Present 3rd p. sg; it is a correction of the original *sedi*; cf. Mar. *ṛījanē*.
- taḍapaḍaamṭi*, p. 30, Deśi *taḍapphaḍa-*, *taḍaphaḍa-*, cf. Mar. *tada-phaḍanē* or *taḍapaḍanē*.
- dāvehi*, p. 41, *dāva-darsaya* is known, cf. *dāvanē*, to show, in sub-standard Mar.
- paccārehi*, p. 15, a marginal correction for *hakkārehi*, cf. Mar. *pācāranē*, to call.
- pāhūṇa*, p. 50, cf. Mar. *pāhūna*, Gerund from *pāhanē*, to see.
- piūṇa*, p. 24, cf. Mar. *piūna*, Gerund from *piṇē*, to drink.
- peṭṭamṭa*, p. 5, Present participle of *peṭṭa-*, cf. Mar. *peṭanē*, to burn.
- baḍabadaī*, p. 15, cf. Mar. *baḍabadanē*. On the sentence *kukkuro baḍa-badaī rājā ānṇedi*, the comm. remarks: *baḍabadaī iti deśīyaḥ śabdaḥ/ abhāṇako'yaṃ deśīyaḥ* /.
- basadu*, p. 9, Imperative 3rd. p. sg. of *basā-* < *baisā-* < *upaviś* to sit, cf. Mar. *basanē*. In fact the original *uvavisadu* is corrected into *basadu*.
- bhukkidaṃ*, p. 8, Past p.p. of *bhukka-*, cf. *bhumkanē* in Mar., to bark, to talk irresponsibly.
- raḍamṭi*, p. 20, *raḍa-* is usual in Pk., cf. Mar. *raḍanē*, to weep. The original reading *rudamṭi* is changed to *raḍamṭi*.
- laḍai*, p. 7, cf. Mar. *laḍhanē*, to fight.
- voḍhai*, p. 35, this is a marginal improvement on *karisadi*, cf. Mar. *oḍhanē*, to drag.
- soḍai*, pp. 15, 35, this is an improvement on the reading *mumcadi*, cf. Mar. *soḍanē*.
- hoi hoi*, p. 21, this is used in the sense of 'yes, yes,' showing consent; obviously Ghanaśyāma thought this to be the forerunner of the Marāṭhī *hoya hoya* which is current in conversation even now.

The marginal corrections clearly show how there is a conscious effort on the part of the author to put more and more Marāṭhī-like words in place of the Prākṛit ones. The relation between the two Mss. P and T confirms this view. There are many sentences which bear the shade of Marāṭhī idiomatic usage. For instance, *kahiṃ gadāiṃ varisāiṃ*, p. 53, resembles Mar. *koṭhe gelē tujhe varṣa*; the stage-direction *aparāṅge muhur āsphālayan* has its counterpart in Mar. *pāṣa thopaṭita*. Thus Ghanaśyāma having had Marāṭhī as his mother tongue and knowing full well that Deśī expressions have a legitimate place in Prākṛit compositions has studiously used many a Marāṭhī expression in his Prākṛit drama.

Further, it may also be noted that the above examples reveal a few general tendencies. The author wants to make use of Deśī elements in his Prākṛit to give it a more natural appearance or probably to follow the tradition of using such elements, as is suggested by a remark of the Prākṛit grammarian, Hemacandra (VIII. ii. 174: *hallapphala ityādayo Mahārāṣṭra-Vidarbhādī-deśa-prasiddhā lokato' vagantavyāḥ*). We can find in the words used by him some definitely of Dravidian or non-Āryan origin (like *mocci*, *huḍugga*, etc.) and others which are common to both Marāṭhī and the Prākṛit dialect at its basis. But we can easily see that instead of making use of Prākṛit expressions which were inherited by the Marāṭhī language later on, Ghanaśyāma tries to Prākṛitise Marāṭhī words and fit them in their Prākṛit garb. First, this can be seen from words like *aṭṭhara* (Pk. *aṭṭhāraha*), *ṭhevvūna* (Pk. *ṭhaviūna*), etc., in which the phonetic laws preclude a natural development of the Indo-Āryan; and secondly, from Marāṭhī words like *nījai*, *ṭakkaī*, *peṭṭamta*, etc., the origin of which remains doubtful: this may be called Prākṛitisation. The inclusion of a few Dravidian words (mostly Kannaḍa) can be explained on the supposition that the current Marāṭhī of Ghanaśyāma's time had no objection to borrow, if not had already borrowed, them from the neighbouring language.



## LINGUISTICS IN INDIA

BY

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The earliest literary works in any Indo-European language are undoubtedly the *Saṃhitās* of the Vedas. These consisted largely of hymns addressed to various divine powers. From the very beginning these *mantras* were looked upon as specially sacred and special efforts were made to memorise them, to analyse them and to understand their meaning. The first step was to separate each word in these hymns, and this gave us the *pada-pāṭha*. For this the rules of phonetic combination (*sandhi*) and of the accent system had to be investigated. All these were embodied in the *Prātiśākhya*s (one for each Veda), which embody the first linguistic investigations (mainly phonetic) undertaken in India.

With the passing of time the language of the *mantras* began to be felt as becoming antiquated. Special lexical and etymological works were found necessary to explain the obsolete words used in these *mantras*. Of these works the *Nirukta* of Yāska is the most important.

Side by side grammatical investigations were also carried out and several grammatical works were produced. Of these nothing remains but the names of some authors. At the end of this period and as the culmination of all the early linguistic investigations we get the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. This is a masterly analysis<sup>1</sup> of the Sanskrit language as it existed in his days. Pāṇini has done the work very thoroughly and with deep insight. And it appears from a study of this masterly analysis that Pāṇini has grasped quite clearly many fundamental principles of modern linguistic science.

Pāṇini is said to have flourished near Takṣaśilā which was on the main road along which "foreigners" invariably entered India. Naturally, that neighbourhood must have contained a fairly large foreign element in its population. It seems strange that Pāṇini with his acute methods of analysis has not told us anything about the foreign tongues spoken there, nor about their influence upon the "sacred" speech of his people. We cannot but surmise that it was his pride in the 'heavenly tongue' (*gīrvāṇa-girā*), that prevented him from alluding to the speech of the barbarous *mleccha*. To us at the present time, it is a matter of regret, for almost certainly Pāṇini must have heard

1. *vyākaraṇa*, from *vi-ā-√kr-*, to analyse.

Iranian speech, so closely akin to his own; and it is possible that he may have heard some Greek as well. If he had but condescended to investigate these "foreign" dialects the science of comparative linguistics might have been born quite 2000 years earlier, and in India.

After Pāṇini there was no further progress in the field of language-study in India with the solitary exception of Patañjali and his *Mahābhāṣya*. And the *Mahābhāṣya* may be taken to be an extensive supplementary commentary on Pāṇini. The bulk of all subsequent work on grammar and language-study consists of commentaries, abridgements and simplification of the work of Pāṇini.

Pāṇini's work acquired a sort of double sanctity for the students of Sanskrit. In the first place the language treated therein was the sacred and "refined" language of the Gods; and secondly Pāṇini's extraordinary merit was looked upon as specially sanctified and he was promoted to the rank of a Muni, on a level equal to that of the great Sages of the Vedas.

The natural result was that all that the great grammarian had written down was accepted as gospel truth; not merely that, but to suggest the least change was looked upon with horror. The consequence was that since the time of Pāṇini the study of linguistic phenomena remained practically in the same position for well over 20 centuries. The grammar of Pāṇini was taken to be the one book for learning Sanskrit and its terminology was applied unchanged to all Sanskritic (Indo-Aryan) languages<sup>2</sup> leading to utter confusion in the minds of little children who wanted to learn the structure of their own mother-tongue. The attitude has been the direct result of ignoring the history of the growth of Modern Indo-Aryan.

Almost exactly similar has been the state of linguistic teaching among the Muslims. The three languages in which Muslim theological works are to be found, Arabic, Persian and Urdu, are all explained in terms of Arabic grammar.<sup>3</sup>

The idea generally accepted by most teachers in our Schools and Colleges was that the knowledge of one "classical" language<sup>4</sup> is enough for attaining a good grasp of linguistics. Languages, both "classical" and modern Vernaculars (Indo-Aryan as well as Dravidian) are taught indeed, but that is by no means enough for knowing Linguistics.

2. I believe that Dravidian languages have also had their grammatical structure explained after the Sanskrit model.

3. Arabic is a sacred language to the Muslims because of the Qorān.

4. In India these are Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Arabic, Persian, Avesta and Pahlavi.



The language studied must be treated historically. The stages of its development and progress should be systematically pointed out. There is at present an utter neglect of the cultural aspect of our languages. Students learn about the grammatical aspect but nothing at all about the culture. In the course of my own studies I learnt details about the various grammatical forms used by Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti but nothing at all about the cultural aspect these poets represent nor about the beauty of their style or about the melody of their verse. A great writer is a reflection of the time in which he has lived and in a sense he is the creator of the culture he represents. To put it in one word the study should be *humanised*.

If treated in the manner stated above the study of any particular language, or any set of authors would create *human* interest and the student would appreciate better the position of the language in the history and culture of the land.

Yet another aspect of the teaching of languages has to be noted in this connection. There is the notion, almost universally held, that all the old "classical" languages are "dead" languages. No other notion has done greater harm to language-studies. Every language, no matter how ancient, must have been "living" sometime in the course of its history. Language is the special characteristic of the living human being, and so every language must have been "living" once. It may have gone out of daily usage as a medium for the exchange of thought; but whenever any language is taught one must treat it as "living". To speak of any language as "dead" destroys the very roots of language teaching. The method of teaching Sanskrit in our country gives in the first place an utterly false perspective by calling it "dead"; and thus it takes away all *human* interest and presents to the student merely a *lifeless* skeleton of dry grammatical rules. This, I believe is the main reason why there is a serious falling off lately in the number of students taking Sanskrit. *The living human aspect of the language must ever be in mind of the teacher.*

Besides being "historical" and "human" language studies must be "comparative", so that the student may get a fair idea of the modern science of Linguistics. We can assert that our country gave birth to the science of language. We have forgotten that historical fact and have forgotten our achievements in that direction. And today instead of being thought of as a science requiring years of patient work linguistics is regarded by the majority of our educational authorities as a mass of haphazard guess-work.

I believe that not more than two or three Universities in India deal with the subject at all properly. Languages (even where two languages have to be studied) are grouped together from points of view that can hardly be called "linguistic." We have in many Universities boards of studies for Arabic-Persian-Urdu, which is not a linguistic grouping at all, but primarily theolo-

gical and political. In Bombay we have the Avesta-Pahlavi group which was formed from the view point of Zoroastrian theology. Many such clumsy groupings may be pointed out.

For "comparative" studies we must group together languages at the same stage of development. Thus Sanskrit-Greek-Avesta would form a good group for study. Arabic-Hebrew-Syriac would make another such group. Persian-Pahlavi (Pazand)-Pushto would make another. Two or more modern Indo-Aryan languages would give ample scope for comparative linguistics. Similarly two or more Dravidian languages in their modern stage might be studied. For Middle Indo-Aryan Pāli and one or more of the Prākṛits would offer a fruitful field of work. At present we have courses in Pāli and in Ardha-Māgadhī, but the studies are essentially for Buddhist and Jaina theology.

What I want to emphasise is that we have neglected so far the study of languages from the *human* point of view. We have looked upon language-study as an adjunct to theological or political teaching. We must study *language as such*, as a living human subject for mental discipline. Such study, conducted in the proper spirit would tend to show the essential unity of humanity. This is the lesson Linguistics should teach.

Two World-Wars in the first half of our present 20th century of Christ have shown us all how deeply human beings may be divided for political and other ideologies. We are under the shadow of yet a third World-War with Atom or Hydrogen-bombs or even something more terrible. We have to get out of this shadow and every branch of our educational work must emphasise the essential humanity of the human race. I believe the two World-Wars were meant as terrible object-lessons for our race. Today every sane and impartial human being is thinking that a full realisation of Human Brotherhood is the only hope for mankind. And every subject to be taught in our schools and colleges should emphasise this human unity. I believe this thought of unity and brotherhood is to be the dominating ideal for the second half of the 20th century of Christ. Linguistics should have to share this task of establishing "The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."



## VĀCARAMBHAṆAM

BY

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Uddālaka's teaching in the sixth prapāṭhaka of the Chāndogya is easily the most celebrated Upaniṣad text, not only in India ancient and modern, but also in the West where the expression *tat tvam asi*, in the somewhat biblical rendering of Thou art That, is often considered a formula that sums up the entire Indian philosophy. Yet there is no śruti text of which the meaning has been disputed so vehemently as Uddālaka's sadvidyā. The oldest interpreters of the Chāndogya Up. of whose commentaries we have some fragments left, Ṭaṅka the Vākyakāra and Damaṇḍa the Bhāṣyakara,<sup>1</sup> show that already at their time there was a controversy between those who considered that *sat* was *brahman* without qualities and those who held that *sat* was *brahman* with qualities.<sup>2</sup> Correlated with this question whether *sat* or *brahman*<sup>3</sup> as the *causa prima* possesses qualities or not is the question whether its effect, the phenomenal world of individual souls and of matter has a proper and distinct reality or not. The problematic relation between the absolute, permanent and perfect that is cause and the relative, impermanent and imperfect that is effect has remained the fundamental problem of Vedānta: the discussion of this problem has always taken the form of a commentary on Uddālaka's teaching ever since the Sūtrakāra had formulated his solution in Uddālaka's terms.<sup>4</sup> Modern research<sup>5</sup> has made it plausible that the Sūtra-

1. The present writer has collected the available fragments of both these *pūroḍ-  
cāryas* of Rāmānuja in an appendix to his study of the Vedārthasaṃgraha, which will be  
out shortly.

2. Fragment XV, quoted Vedārthasaṃgraha, Paṇḍit Ed. p. 143, *yuktam/ tadguṇa-  
kōpāsānāi* "(also with regard to the sadvidyā) it is appropriate, for meditation is on an  
object (or: *brahman*) that has those qualities" (Ṭaṅka's Vākyā); *yady api vacitto na  
nirbhugṇadaivataṃ guṇagopaṇaṃ manasānūdhāvet tathāpy antarguṇām eva devatāṃ bhajate*  
"although one, when meditating on the sadvidyā, does not pursue with one's thoughts  
the multitude of qualities (of the daharavidyā, ChUp. 8, 1, 5) that are negative (*apahata-  
pāpmā*, etc.) or divine (*satyakāmaḥ satyasamkalpaḥ*), still one lovingly cognizes the  
Deity as having inner qualities." (Damaṇḍa's bhāṣya).

3. We shall not touch here on the disputable equation *sat* = *brahman* of Vedānta.

4. BrS. 2, 1, 14.

5. DASGUPTA, *Indian Philosophy* II, p. 26 ff; V. S. GUATE, *The Vedānta* (Poona 1926  
= *Les Brahma-Soutras et leur cinq commentaires*, Thesis Paris 1918) who, however, has  
committed the methodological error of not considering Bhāskara's bhāṣya, which re-  
presents a much more ancient Vedānta than any other bhāṣya does.

kāra adhered to the view of *pariṇāma* which admits an inner causal transformation of the absolute into the relative: this was the view, incidentally, that was also adhered to by the oldest Vedāntins Ṭaṅka and Draṇḍa.<sup>6</sup> The logical difficulties implicit in the *pariṇāma* view must have been recognized early; it was Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, who apparently for the first time availed himself of the ancient notion of *vivarta* to describe the causal process as somehow illusory, not real, only in appearance so.<sup>7</sup> Though it would seem not yet by Śaṅkara himself,<sup>8</sup> the same view was formulated in *advaitavedānta*. Other Vedāntins, however, took a different stand. Bhāskara still represents the more ancient view that the causal change takes really place within the qualified brahman, whereas Yāmuna<sup>9</sup> and more systematically Rāmānuja<sup>10</sup> integrated a Sāṃkhya doctrine and maintained that *pariṇāma* only takes place within matter, which, though real and eternal in itself, is inseparably dependent on God of whom it constitutes the body. Mādhva took the same stand but denied Rāmānuja's body-soul identity. Within Vedānta we distinguish thus a great variety of views which are all read into and proved from the *sadvidyā* passage *vācārambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyam mṛttiketyeva satyam*,<sup>11</sup> which, according to the Sūtras (2, 1, 14 *tadananyatvam ārambhaṇasabdādibhyaḥ*) declares that the world, the effect, is no other than its cause, *sat* or *brahman*.

What was Uddālaka's own view? It is summed up in 6, 8, 6: when all products are successively dissolved in their causes, an ultimate prime cause remains to which all the rest can be reduced: *sa ya eṣo 'ṇimā atadātmyam idaṃ sarvaṃ tat satyam sa ātmā*: it is the irreducible minimum in which all this ultimately consists, the *satya*: it is the *ātman*.<sup>12</sup> The term *satya* refers us to the passage quoted above where it is stated that in clay products 'clay' is *satya* and that the product, a pitcher, bowl etc. is *vācārambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyam*. The crucial term is *vācārambhaṇam*. Usually it is taken adjectively with *nāmadheyam*: "the effect is (just) a name deriving from

6. Fragment XII, quoted, Bhāskara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* ad 1, 4, 23, *pariṇāmas tu syād dadhyādīcet* "there is an inner causal change, as in the case of curds (turning into butter: Ch. Up. 6.6.1) etc."; cf. also the indirect testimony of the Sarvajñātman's presentation, Fragment XVIII and the discussion in Ch. II of Introduction of my *Vedārthasaṃgraha*.

7. Paul HACKER, *Vivarta*, Studien zur Geschichte der illusionistischen Kosmologie und Erkenntnistheorie der Inder (Ak. Wissensch. und Lit. Abh. Geistes etc. Kl., 1953, nr 5), p. (13) ff.

8. Hacker, *o.c.* p. (24) ff. who describes Śaṅkara's cosmology als "eine Art illusionistischer *Pariṇāma*vāda".

9. Yāmuna, *Saṃvitsiddhi*, (In: *Siddhitrāya*, Chaukhamba Skt. Ser. 10, Benares 1900), p. 82, beginning *jñānādi* etc.

10. *Vedārthasaṃgraha*, p. 28 ff; Ś. Bh. 2.1.15.

11. ChUp. 6.1.3.

12. For Uddālaka's concept of the *ātman* cf. ChUp. 5.17.



speech". One objection is that the word-order rather reads "the name is the effect", another that according to Uddālaka himself speech or *vāc* is a later product instead of a cause as *ārambhāṇa* would suggest; the last objection is that a tangible and serviceable object like a clay pitcher is not only another name of clay, as the old Commentators realized better than many translators.<sup>13</sup> Name must mean here what later on is termed *nāmarūpe* "name and form", which, in 6, 3, 2, describes the products or creatures that are "separated out of" (*vyāvṛkṣ- ~ vikāra*) the *materia prima*.

The meaning of *ārambhāṇa*, too, could be specified if we follow up a contextual connexion that is suggested by Rāmānuja and stated expressly by Mādhva.<sup>14</sup> Commenting on *advitīyam* Rāmānuja<sup>15a</sup> declares that the term conveys that there is no second *adhiṣṭhātṛ* side by side with *sat* (equated with a personal God) which is the material cause. He refers in this connexion to Taittiriya Br. 2, 8, 9, 6: *kiṃ svid vanaṃ ka u sa vṛkṣa āśid yato dyāvā-prthivī niṣṭataḥ* | *manīṣiṇo manasā pṛcchated u tad yad adhyatiṣṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan*. This question is answered *brahma vanaṃ brahma sa vṛkṣa* etc. The urgency of this reference—which inspired Rāmānuja's use of the term *adhiṣṭhātṛ* for *nimittakāraṇam*—becomes clear when we study the context of the Ṛgveda sūkta from which TaittBr. has taken the question: 10, 81, 4. There it is an illustrative repetition of a preceding question (2) *kiṃ svid āśid adhiṣṭhānam ārambhāṇam katamāt svit kathāśīt* | *yāto bhūmim janāyan Viśvakarmā vi dyām ārunon mahinā viśvacakṣāḥ* "whatever was the standing-place, which the basis and how was it by which Viśvakarman, when producing the earth, put the sky apart by his power, he who sees all?" We remark in passing that in st. 8 Viśvakarman is styled *vācaspati*, "lord or possessor of *vāc*". We may compare 10, 129 where it is said that that which is *sat* sprang from that which is not *sat*, and that sages who reflect discovered, after searching in their hearts, that *sat* is fastened to *asat* (4 cd): *sató bāndhum āsati nīravindan hṛdī pratiṣṭhā kavāyo manīṣā*. Whether one would take this last statement as one reply to the question of 10, 81 or not, it cannot be denied that the three hymns 10, 129, 72, and 81 are, with many others, ever so many speculations and formulations of one cosmogonic myth of which the evolution and elaboration can be pursued throughout the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. It would seem that this one myth of the creation of the many out of the one had two basic forms, one in which the creation was imagined

13. Rāmānuja, for instance, availing himself of one of the many senses of the term, renders *vācā* with *vyavahāreṇa* "practical purpose" which expresses the initiating or actuating function of language.

14. ChUp. 6,2,1 *sadevedamagra asidekamevādvitīyam* "the *sat* was here (*idam* adverbially) at first, alone without a partner".

15. Mādhva (ad BrS. 2,1,14) refers directly to RV 10,81,2 in connexion with *ārambhāṇa*, the expression proving that God needed no other instrument; GRATE is too rash in considering it irrelevant (p. 81).

15a. Vedārthasaṃgraha, p. 55 ff.



to proceed from a personal and divine progenitor, and another in which the notions of *sat* and *asat*, standing respectively for "this which is here, the world" and "that which is other than that, its matrix and origin," took the place of creator. Often enough both forms are so interlinked that we can hardly distinguish them. Uddālaka's formulation, so it seems, is an elaboration of 10, 129.<sup>16</sup> But even in this latter hymn, where a tendency to do away with divine progenitors is conspicuous, the shade of a demiurge makes a hesitant come-back at the end, if only to have his assistance at and knowledge of *sat*'s origination questioned. In 10, 72, 2 it is Brahmanaspati who superintends this origination: *brāhmaṇaspātiretā sām karmāra ivadhamat | devānām pūrvayē yugē 'sataḥ sād ajāyata*. This hymn again reminds us strongly of 10, 81 where it reads (3) *sām bāhūbhyām dhāmati sām pātatrair dyāvābhūmī janāyan devā ékaḥ*. This one god is Viśvakarman who has not only the appellation *vācaspati* in common with Brahmanaspati,<sup>17</sup> but other features as well: both as the contexts show represent in some respect the sun,<sup>18</sup> who separates sky and earth after their nocturnal union, and in this are strongly reminiscent of the anonymous deity of 10, 129 who "watches from the far-away sky."<sup>18a</sup>

This context of interconnected speculations on a cosmogonic myth must have inspired Rāmānuja and Mādhva to their explanatory references which, possibly, might already have been given in ancient commentaries. More obvious must the same connexions have been to Uddālaka himself who lived in a milieu of thinkers who tried out ever new and more comprehensive formulations of this myth. To my mind there can be little doubt that his use of the term *ārambhāṇa* was inspired by its place in the entire idea-complex concerning the emergence of the many from the one and should as far as possible be explained within this idea-complex.

The same mythical context throws light on the meaning of *vāc* in *vācārambhāṇam*. We are justified to make at least a distinction<sup>19</sup> between this

16. More details on this point Vedārthasamgraha, Intr., Ch. I.

17. e.g. MS. 2, 6, 6.

18. For this solar aspect of both Viśvakarman and Brahmanaspati, cf. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, §§ 39 and 38.

18a. Ad RV. 10, 125 (to Vāc), 7 *ahām suve pitāram asya murdhān māma yonir apso antāḥ samudrē | tāto vī tiṣṭhe bhūvanānu viśvātāmām dyām varṣmāpāpyāsmi*, Geldner remarks that the father, born from Vāc, is the *dāhyakṣa* in the Supreme Heaven of 10, 129, 7c.

19. Curiously enough, *vāc* here is not the first product of all as one might expect, its cause being *teja* which is the first of the "colours" or "aspects" that constitute the self-creating *sat*, but the third, after *prāṇa* from water, and *manas* from food; yet, other texts like Śat. Br. 10,6,5,5 so '*kāmayata—daitiyo na ātmā jāyeta*, so *manasā vācam mīthunam amabhavat*—where *manas* "desire" reminds us of *manas* RV. 10,129,4b—warn us that the relation of *vāc* also as progenitrix with *manas* is very intimate.



*vāc* and the *vāc* which is described in ChUP. 6, 5, 3-4 as the subtlest—that is no doubt the first—product of *tejas*. We remarked in passing that Viśvakarman and Brahmanaspati have corresponding functions within this context, and that both are called *vācaspati*. In this as in other respects they are comparable to Prajāpati who is also described as the husband of *vāc*, and consequently even identified with *vāc*.<sup>20</sup> Instructive is a passage in Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 12, 5: *prajāpatir vā idam āsīt tasya vāg dvitīyāsīt tām mithunaṃ samabhavat sa garbham adhatta sūsmād apākramat semāḥ prajā asṛjata sā prajāpatim eva punaḥ prāviśat*<sup>21</sup> etc. *Vāc* as the first product (literally; *vāc* is ejaculated)<sup>22</sup> of the creator, the second one to exist side by side with him as his partner in creation (we recall Uddālaka's emphatic *advitīyameva*), is personified as a progenitrix. SCHARBÄU<sup>23</sup> goes too far when he comments on this and similar passages that "mit dem Logos (i.e. *vāc*; I would object to this term) ist also eine objektive, metaphysische Substanz gemeint" which supposes a differentiation between power and matter which is not yet recognized; but he is nearer to the mark when he continues: "Er (i.e. Logos) ist das Brahman als Urwort, als Uroffenbarung des göttlichen (the term is unfortunate) ātman". There is enough evidence to show that *vāc* represents at least one of the aspects of *brahman* as the powerful and creative word,<sup>24</sup> and the progenitive and creative function of *vāc/brahman* may partly account for the importance of the concept of *brahman* in later thought where the notion of permanent underlying stability with the typically Indian association of (material) cause will remain fundamental.

20. cf. ŚatBr. 5,1,5,6; Viśvakarman identified with Prajāpati ŚatBr. 8,2,1,10; 8,2,3,13.

21. "Prajāpati verily was here; his partner was Vāc; he copulated with her and impregnated her; thereupon she separated from him and bore these creatures; then again she united with Prajāpati".

22. Interesting is what NEUMANN, *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins* (Zürich 1949), p. 39 has to say about the creative power of all that goes out of the body.

23. Carl Anders SCHARBÄU, *Die Idee der Schöpfung in der Vedischen Literatur* (Stuttgart 1932), p. 127.

24. Identifications are numerous, and it is tempting to explain BhG. 14, 3-4 in this context: *mama yonir mahad brahma tasmā garbham dadhāmy aham | sambhavaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ tato bhavati bhārata || sarvasyonisu kaunteya mātṛeṣu sambhavanti yāḥ | tāsāṃ brahma mahad yonir aham bijapradah pītṛ ||* "I use the great brahman as the womb in which I beget an embryo; therefrom proceeds the origination of all beings: all bodies that originate in all wombs have in the great brahman their womb and in me their impregnating father:" evidently God is here conceived still as *prajāpati*, and his female counterpart is *brahman ~ vāc*. Even BrS. 1, 1, 1-3 may be reminiscent *athāto brahmajijñāṣā, janmadāy aya yataḥ, śāstrayonitvāt* "therefore now the exegesis of the brahman, from which this (world) has its birth etc., because it has its womb (origin) in śāstra," where *śāstra* would be *brahman* as primarily the (pro)-creative, revelatory and sacral Word dealing with its content the *brahman*, cause and foundation of the Universe.

We shall not be far astray when we interpret *vācārambhaṇam* on the basis of this cosmogonic context. The *ārambhaṇa* and *adhiṣṭhāna*, the forest and the tree on which Viśvakarman *vācaspati* stood when creating was identified with *vāc/brāhman*. The *vikāra* "that which is separated out of the underlying stuff that is the material cause", that which appears as name-and-form, derives from (*ārambhaṇa*-) *Vāc* as the creating word of the creator, that force with which he is able to create. Uddālaka, who insists emphatically on the uniqueness of the first cause that is *sat*, must have conceived of this *vāc* as the power of creation of *sat*. But *vāc* is no longer projected outside the first cause as a partner (*sat* is *advitīyam*). It would seem that the fundamental doctrine of the Vedāntins that the material cause and the operative cause (*nimittakāraṇa*, which would correspond to *vāc*) are identical reflects Uddālaka's view accurately.



## A KHOWAR TALE

BY

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Khovar, the principal language of Chitral and the north-westernmost outpost of Indo-Aryan, is of considerable linguistic interest. On the one hand on account of its numerous archaic-sounding tadbhavas and grammatical forms, such as *ashru* tear, *khatau*, *ralau* mouse (Skt. *khala-pā* "threshing-floor cleaner"); *ispagh* pauper (Skt. *asvaka*); *ser kura sher* ? where is the bridge—a most useful phrase for a traveller in Chitral—(\**setuḥ kutah śete* ?); *oshoi* it was (Skt. *āsayat*), to mention only a few. On the other hand Khovar has adopted many non-Indo-Aryan elements, as well Iranian, of various age and provenience, as of unknown origin. This composite character of the language does not, to my mind, override the fact that the central core of words and forms are definitely Indo-Aryan. The nearest neighbour and closest relative of Khovar is Kalasha, with which language it shares a number of characteristic isoglosses, e.g. the preservation of augmented preterites, the change of *-t-* > \**ḍ*, and further to *r*, or *l*, and the development of a Past Participle of the type \**karitaka* > \**kardao*, from which Khow. *kardu*, and Kal. *k'ada*. In both languages this participle is also used as a finite verb.

So far no original Khow. prose text has been published, with the exception of the 8 lines of Specimen II in the LSI. And Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan and Capt. B. E. M. Gurdon's Translation of the Ganj-i-Pukhto into the Khovar Dialect (Calc., Off. Superint. Govt. Print., 1902) is not easily accessible. A few short songs have been published by Biddulph and others.

I have therefore thought that a Khovar tale might be acceptable as a greeting and a token of admiration and gratitude from an old friend from Uttara-patha, or Nor-way, being at the same time a message from the Indo-Aryan Uttarapatha.—Most of the Khovar tales I have taken down (and hope to publish some day) are very long. I therefore had to choose a short one for this paper, and it can of course exemplify only a small number of characteristic features of Khovar. The tale was told to me in Chitral in 1929, by Muhammad Zarin from Shagram in Turikho, at that time an elderly man, and for many years a resident of Chitral Village. He was a very good and intelligent informant.

I have, for practical reasons, adopted a very simplified transcription, with a minimum of diacritical marks. *Sh, zh* denote palatal fricatives, *c, j* palatal affricates, and *ʃh, ʒh, ɕ*, the corresponding "cerebrals". Note also cerebral *l*. *X, gh* are velar fricatives, *th, ph, kh, ch, ɕh* are aspirates. I write *r* also before *t*, but in this position it is unvoiced, and sometimes approaches to *h*, or *x*.

Non-phonemic variants of the vowels have not been distinguished, even when this is the case in my original notation. Quantity appears to be non-relevant, stressed vowels being frequently heard as long. But in a few words stressed *a* (or *ʌ*) was never noted as long (e.g. *ha-se, ha-te* etc. that; anus day, *daq* boy), and it is possible that there are really two "*a*"-phonemes.—In this text I have only occasionally noted the rising tone, in most cases belonging to words with actual, or original aspirated initial.

The Skeleton Grammar of Khowar given in the LSI, will suffice for the understanding of most of the forms occurring in this tale.<sup>1</sup> A few additional remarks may be helpful:

**NOUNS.** Locative I ("Inessive") in *-i*; Loc. II ("Adessive") in *-a*. Abl. of inanimate nouns in *-ar*, or, with additional particle *-i* here, hither, *-ari*.—Nom. Plur. Inanimates and some animates have suffix zero. Other animates have *-an*. Note *brar-gini* brothers, and *zhi-zhau* sons.—Obl. Plur. adds *-an*, e.g., *parian* fairies, obl. *parianan*.

**PRONOUNS.** Nom. Sing. *ha-se* that; obl. sing. (*ha*)-*togho*; nom. plur. *ha-tet*; obl. plur. *ha-tetan*. As an adjective; Obl. Singh., Plur., Nom. Plur. *ha-te*. *Ha-ya* this; Obl. Plur. *ha-mitan*. *Hes* (Adj. *he*) that, (the one just mentioned?), Obl. Sing. *horo*.—*Ka* who, somebody; *kara* which, whoever; *kya* what; *kya (r)ar* what, something; *kanduri* how many, some.

**VERBS.** Imper. 2. Sing. in *-e*, of Causatives in *-awe* (< *-āpaya*), irregular: *de* give. Imper. 3. Sing. in *-ar*.

Pres.—Fut. and Def. Pres., v. LSI.

Pret.—LSI *asitam* I was, etc. has been reduced to *asitam*, or even *astam*. Note the augment in *o-betai* he could.

Perfect. Absolutive + Present of Auxiliary. E.g. *chiti sher* is broken (*sher*, not *asur* because inanimate subject).—Pluperfect: *pori asitai* had fallen asleep = was asleep.

1. Cf. also the present author's "Some Features of Khowar Morphology", *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, XIV, pp. 5-23; 1947.



Habitual Imperfect. Noun of agency in *-ak* + Past Auxiliary *biretam*, 3. Sing. *birai*, 3. Plur. *birani*. According to my friend Wazir Ali Shah, Government Treasurer, Chitral, who for several years has been my correspondent, and has with great kindness, patience and intelligence given me much valuable information about Khowar, *biretam* "is generally used in cases where something is told as a heard-of or alleged matter, like in stories. E.g. *Hamid di hatera asitai* Hamid was also there, but *Hamid di hatera birai* Hamid is also reported to be there, or happened to be there."

Absolutive: (1) Root (*bi*, *re*, *de*); (2) in *-i* (*kori*, *nishi*, *tori*, etc.); (3) in *-ti* (*chiti*, *zhuti*, *biti*, *giti*).

Infinitive. In *-ik*, inflected in ohl. cases, *-o*, *-a*, etc.

Past Participle Passive. In *-in* (*pets-in*).

Perfect Participle in *-iru* (*-rdu*), from *-itaka*, also used as a finite form, is not represented in this text.

## TEXT

1. 'I badsh'a ast'ai. H'atogho sut<sup>2</sup> zhizh'au ast'ani.<sup>3</sup> 2. 'I  
One king there-was. His seven sons there-were. One (-of-them)  
'olati b'oko s'ar bir'ai. H'ase t'ato te d'ish<sup>4</sup> bir'ai. 3. Tan  
a-poor wife- from was. He (his-)father-to displeasing was. (Before)  
gh'eci lak'ak bir'ai. 4. Hate badsh'o nogh'oro g'ona i  
his eye not (the-king) used-to-admit(-him). That king's castle- near a  
l'u<sup>5</sup> gurz'en bir'ai. 5. H'atet 'i ch'uyo ispr'u kor'i  
big garden was. They (=the trees) (in)-one night blossoms having-made,  
buluci bit'i ch'uci b'iko poc'ak bir'ani. 6. Magar  
unripe-fruit having-become, morning on-becoming, used to ripen. But  
k'a posh'ak. n'o bir'ani. Na-zh'ibiko b'ak bir'ani.  
anybody did-not-use- to- see-(them). Not-eating-for they-used-to-be.  
7. Ch'uyo t'an hate mew'an pari'an hatetan ist'or  
At-night by-themselves those fruits the-fairies (and), their horses  
zhuti khuli'ak bir'ani. 8. 'I 'anus badsh'a tan zhizh'auan te re'tai:  
having-eaten used-to-finish-off. One day the-king his sons- to said:  
9. 'K'ara ki ma h'aya gurz'eno mew'an y'or-dika p'at ki w'al  
"Whoever < who > my this garden-of fruits sun-set- until who guardian

2. Ordinary form: *sot*.

3. Or: *birani*.

4. First: *napisan*.

5. Ordinary form: *lot*.

- h'oi, -awa h'atogho te b'oh merab'ani kor'om." 10. 'I zhau has-become, I him- to much favour shall-make." One son bagh'ai<sup>6</sup> 'i ch'uyo w'al h'oi. 11. Ch'uci b'iko m'ewa went, one night guardian he-became. Morning- on-becoming the-fruits kh'ul h'oni, w'al b'iko n'o 'obetai. 12. Hase 'i vanished became (-were), a-guardian to-be not he-was-able. That one zhau bagh'ai, h'ase di w'al b'iko n'o 'betai. (other) son went, he too a-guardian to-be not was-able.
13. Hase 'i ch'uyo hase 'olat'i kim'erio s'ar zh'au ki hase badsh'oo That one night he, the-poor woman- from son, who < he > the-king's gh'eca-d'osh osh'oi, h'ase w'al biko bagh'ai. 14. Gurz'ena b'i eye-sore was, he guardian to-become went. To-the-garden having-gone k'an tu us'i h'al hoi. 15. Ch'uyo bar'abara 'i sh'a ist'or a-tree-into having-climbed he-waited. At-midnight a black horse zhindr'i h'ai, mew'an zh'ibika q'okitai. 16. Hate k'ano m'ula having-neighed came, the-fruits to-eat began. That tree-below git'i hase q'aq kan'ari mahm'ez kor'i ist'oro kr'ema having-come the boy from-the-tree spurs having-made the-horse's back-at pr'ai. 17. Ist'or d'etai, hase q'aq c'ali qok'i rau-r'au struck. The-horse ran, the boy the-mane having clasped, quick bit'i h'al h'oi. 18. Ist'or d'etai. Ist'or having-become, stayed (on the horse). The-horse ran. The-horse q'aqo te r'etai ki: "Tan matl'abo l'uo d'et, t'a ky'a ki k'orum sh'er, the-boy-to said: "Your design tell (-me), your whatever work is, m'a l'aaka!" 19. Hase q'aq r'etai ki: "Ma t'at tan gh'eci n'o to-me leave!" The boy said: "My father his eye-before not l'aa-koyan." 20. Hase ist'or tan cal'ari 'i dr'o n'ei admits (-me)." The horse its mane-from one hair having-drawn-out, hate q'aqo te pr'ai: "Ta ky'a ki zar'urat h'oi, h'aya dr'oo ang'ara? the boy-to gave: "For-you whatever need arises, this hair into-the-fire tar'awe. 22. Ta h'ase k'orum b'oi." bring (=throw). For-you that task will-become (=succeed)"
23. Ist'oro l'akhitai qaq. 24. Ch'uci b'iko The-horse (obj.) left the-boy (subj.). Morning on-becoming, m'ewa p'ocitani. 25. Badsh'ao x'abar ar'eni ki: the-fruits ripened. To-the-king news they-made (=brought):
26. "Ta h'ase 'olat'i b'oko s'ar zh'au, han'un gurz'eno w'al osh'oi, "Your that, the-poor wife-from son, to-day the-garden's guardian was,

6. First: Zhizhau baghani the sons went.

7. First: ph'era into the ashes.



m'ewa p'ocitani. 27. Ch'ini badsh'o pr'ushta  
the-fruits have-ripened. Having-picked (them) the-king before

al'eni,<sup>8</sup> badsh'a b'oh xosh'an h'oi, hate zhaw'o t'an g'ona m'ashkitai,  
they-brought, the-king very happy became, that son himself-near he-called,  
b'oh mehrab'ani ar'er. 28. Zhizh'auan te r'etai ki: "Fəl'anki zhagh'aa  
much favour he-made. (His-)sons-to he-said: "At-a-certain place

badsh'o zh'ur s'orum plinz'o p'etsuran. 29. K'aa ki ist'oro soro  
a-king's daughter a-gold(en) ball throws. Whosoever a-horse-on

nish'i h'atogho ki g'anitai, h'atogho 'aloyan."  
having-sat-down (=riding) her <who> catches, her he-shall-take-away."

30. Zhizh'au rah'i ar'eni, istor'an soro nish'i. 31. H'ase gh'eca-d'osh zh'au  
The-sons starting made, horses-on riding. That odious son

di kh'uṭu guṭh'o soro nish'i h'atetan sum bagh'ai. 32. Ky'awat ki h'aya  
also a-lame pony- on riding them- with went. When this

zhagh'a t'oritani badsh'o zh'ur h'ate s'orum plinz'o p'etsitai. 33. Ḡh'ik  
place they-reached, the-princess that gold(en) ball threw. They-all

tan ist'oran hate plinz'o te d'eitani. 34. Magar n'o 'betani g'aniko.  
their horses that ball-towards let-run. But not they-could catch-it.

35. H'asegh'eca-d'osh zh'au hate istor'o dr'oo ang'ara tar'eitai. 36. Filh'al  
That odious son that horse's hair into-the-fire he put. At-once

hase pari'anan ist'or h'atera t'oritai.<sup>9</sup> 37. Hase ḡ'aq h'ate soro nish'ai.  
that the-fairies' horse there arrived. The boy it- on sat-down.

38. Plinz'o te d'eitai. 39. Plinz'o g'anitai, usht'uritai.  
The-ball-towards he-let-(it-) run. The-ball he-caught, he-ran-away.

40. Badsh'o zh'ur h'atogho kab'ul ar'er: "h'oro 'awetam", r'e. 41. H'ase  
The-princess him accepted: "him I-have-taken", saying. The

ḡ'aq usht'uritai. 42. P'ona b'i togho dos'i al'ani.  
boy fled. On-the-road going, him having-caught they-brought.

Kum'oro<sup>10</sup> h'atogho sum rah'i ar'er. 43. Hate pari'anan ist'oro s'oro nish'i  
The-girl him- with starting-made. Those fairies' horse-on riding,

j'ust biti bagh'ani. 44. 'I zhagh'a bi,  
united being they-went-off. To-one place having-gone,

b'as g'anitani. 45. Ch'uyo hate sh'ak brarg'ini hate ḡ'aqo  
night-quarters they-took. At-night those other brothers that boy's

duw'arto b'i kh'ongoro tukhun'io andr'eni kor'i  
door(-to) having-gone a-sword's edge inside having-made (= put)

d'ositani. 46. Hate br'aro- ten h'ui pr'ani ki: "B'eri nis'e,  
they-seized. That brother-to they-shouted: "Outside come -out,

8. For: alani.

10. For: Kum'oru (nom.).

9. First: h'azir hol.

- b'ol h'ai." 47. Hase bedaw'a bit'i, d'e du'arto te  
an-army has-come." He confused having-become, having-run, the-door-to  
h'ai. 48. Khongoro tukhun'i h'ate d'aqo j'u d'eki tor'i ch'initai.  
came. The-sword's edge that boy's two legs-to reaching cut-them.
49. Hase d'aq hat'era th'or<sup>11</sup> h'oi. 50. Hate sh'ak brarg'ini h'atogho, hate  
The boy there falling became. Those other brothers him that  
b'oko hate ist'oro sum 'i kori gan'i,  
wife (and) that horse-together-with having-assembled, having-taken,  
badsh'o g'ona bagh'ani. 51. T'ogho te ret'ani ki: "(I) sp'a hate plinz'o g'anitam,  
the-king-near went. Him-to they-said: "We that ball we-caught,  
hate kim'erio 'awetam. 52. T'a hase zh'au n'o 'betai."  
that woman we-took-away. Your that son not could (-do-it)."
53. Ham'ush ret'ani. 54. Kand'uri m'uda ac'a hase kh'utu d'aq k'ano  
Thus they-spoke. Some time- after that lame boy a-tree  
m'ula por'i 'asitai. 55. J'u b'oik hate k'ana h'ani. 56. T'an m'uzhi  
-under asleep was. Two birds that tree-into came. Themselves-amongst  
l'u pr'ani: "H'aya d'aqo d'ek chiti sh'er", re. 57. "H'amitan j'am  
they-spoke: "This boy's leg wounded is", saying. "For-them a-good  
w'ez sh'er." 58. Hase 'i bo'ik r'etai: "H'ase ky'aax?"  
medicine exists." That one (=other) bird asked: "That what-thing (-is)?"
59. R'etai ki: "H'amush zhagh'a 'uts sh'er. 60. H'ate  
(The first bird) answered: "In-such a-place a-spring there-is. That  
'utso g'ona 'i j'osh sh'er. 61. H'atogho daph'ei h'e zaxm'ia diy'ar,  
spring-near a grass is. That having-crushed on-that wound he-shall-put,  
he 'utso ut'ar, h'es j'am b'oi." 62. D'aqo k'ara  
into that spring he-shall-enter, he healed will-be." The-boy's ears  
pr'ai, l'ash bitl corp'ongi dit'i h'ate 'utsa  
it-struck, light (=dawn) having-become on-all-fours creeping at-that spring  
t'oritai. 63. Hate j'osho daph'ei, tan h'ate zaxm'ia pr'ai,  
he-arrived. That grass having-crushed, on-his that wound he-put (-it),  
'utso 'utitai. 63. D'ek j'am h'oni, badsh'o gona  
into-the-spring he-entered. The-legs healed became, the-king-near  
h'ai. 65. Tan l'uan dr'ust pr'ai. 66. Badsh'a kab'ul  
he-came. His words (= tale) all he-gave (= told). The-king accepting  
ar'er. 67. Sh'ak zhizh'au chang'ak h'oni. 68. Badsh'a  
did (= believed him). (His-) other sons liars became. The-king  
h'atetan m'aritai. 69. H'e zhau'o boh m'eher kor'i hal'eitai.  
them killed. That son much favour having-shown he-kept (-with-him).

11. Or: pet's in hit, struck.



## NOTES

2. *Olati*, prob. from *olat* village. — *Dish* bad < *dūṣya*.
3. *Ghec*, eye, of uncertain origin. Possibly, *-ec* might go back to *acchi*, with *ech* instead of expected *çch*, as in several Dard and Kafir words for "eye", but what is then the "prefix" *gh*?
5. *Chui* night, has a palatal affricate, and can scarcely be derived from *kṣap*. The obl. in *-o* is used temporally.—*Chuci* (*chucui*, etc.) morning.
9. *Yor-dik* sun-set. — *Wal* must be a sandhi form for *\*pāl* — *Hoi* became *is* here used as a futurum exactum. Cf. 29, *ganitai*.
12. *I* one, frequently used about "an(other)", "the other".
13. *Kim'eri* woman < *kumārikā*, *kumoru* girl, apparently < *\*kumārakā* with short *a*. — *Gheca-doṣh* "a pain at (=for) the eye", odious, hateful.
14. The postposition *tu* into, takes the nominative.
15. *Çokik* (*çakum*) to clasp, to take hold of, to begin.
17. *Detai* ran, but *deitai* (38) made run.
19. *Laa-koyan*. After an *o* the 3. Sing. ends in *-i*, not in *-r*.—*Dro* is indefinite, *droo* (obl.) definite object.
26. *Hase* points to the nom. *zhau*, not to the obl. *boko*.
28. *Zhūr* (with rising tone), Kal. *chu* (l-), *jhur* daughter < *\*juhūtā*. —*Sorum* gold, with *-m* from *drozum* silver. —*P{inz* (also *p{inj*) polo-ball. *Burushaski phānc*, etc.
35. *Tareik* is the caus. of *torik* to reach, to arrive at.
39. *Ushṭuritai*. Wazir Ali Shah always writes *shṭ*. For derivation v. BSOS, 8, p. 664.
42. *Alani*, i.e., back to the princess.
45. *Tukhuni*, edge, from *tukhunu* sharp, with quite irregular development from *tikṣṇa*. — *Dositani* they intended to catch him? "Imperfectum de conatu"?
55. *Boik* bird, < *\*vayi-kka*, cf. Skt. *vayas*.
60. *Josh* grass. Homonym of *josh* ten.
61. *Daph'eik* to crush, cf. Nep. *dapkānu*.

## A STUDY OF PERSONAL NAMES IN CAṆKAM LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

BY

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While the date and chronology of the Caṅkam Classics are still unsettled, it is necessary for me to define beforehand, my sources.<sup>2</sup> Under the title Caṅkam Literature, the traditional list includes the Eight anthologies, the Ten Idylls, the Eighteen Didactic Works and the Twin Epics—Cilappatikāram and Manimekalai. Among these four groups, the third and the last are generally accepted to be of a later date but wrongly counted as Caṅkam Classics by later annotators. Even in the first two groups there are a few books which are suspected to be of a later date. They are Kalittokai and Paripāṭal both of the Eight anthology group and Tirumurukāṛruppaṭal the first of the Ten Idylls.<sup>3</sup> As far as possible, it is my intention to avoid materials of which there is a doubt in dating and take into consideration only the dependable facts however limited they may be. In the Caṅkam classics, after every lyric or long poem there is a practice of giving in a colophon the name of the author of that verse, the patron or chief on whom the verse is composed and sometimes the particular context in which it is sung. The colophons too, if closely scrutinized, will reveal that only a few of them appear to be contemporaneous with the stanzas.<sup>4</sup> A good number seems to have been written by a later day redactor or editor of the anthology. A sense of accuracy compels me to drop these doubtful materials available in the colophons. Thereby I have lost a large number of names of poets and chieftains found

1. 'A comparison of such personal names with the proper names of the individuals of later times is instructive and interesting'. Fn: p. 39. The Chronology of Tamil kings by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai published by the University of Madras 1932. This book will be referred to hereafter as C.T.K.

Mr. K. SANKARAN, my pupil in the M. D. T. Hindu College, Tinnevely, gathered these personal names and my thanks are due to him.

2. The chronology can be settled only when the language of the Caṅkam classics is studied scientifically. For any scientific approach, an index verborum is a necessary pre-requisite and the Tamil Research Department of the University of Travancore is now busy with the preparation of this index verborum.

3. 'Paripāṭal and Tirumurukāṛruppaṭal are, it seems to me of late origin being as they do evident traces of the religious motive'. C. T. K. p. 15, f. n. and see also the the History of Tamil Language and Literature by S. Vaidyanathan Pillai, Tamil Culture, Oct. 1954, p. 345.

4. For the redactor inventing names, see p. 38 of C. T. K.



in the colophons. It is again this sense, which has prevented me from taking into consideration a few personal names found in the invocatory stanzas of the anthologies. What names of persons remain in the body of Caṅkam poems, I have attempted to study in this paper. The names thus gathered from Aṇḱuṇūṇṇu, Naṇṇai, Kuṇṇṇokai, Akaṇṇūṇṇu, Puṇṇāṇṇūṇṇu, Paṇṇupattu and the whole of Paṇṇupattu with the exception of Tirumuruṇṇupattai, are 105 in number. Though this number is limited, the names are representative of the whole of Tamiṇṇad, for the bards are drawn from distant corners of Tamil land. They also represent different stratas of Tamil society. The names thus collected are mostly of chieftains, kings, poets and heroes of love and war. The names of a few heroines are also found. But we have no evidence to guess the name of the rank and file of the Caṅkam Age.

The social customs, manners, habits, and thoughts of the Tamil people are preserved in the Caṅkam Literature. It is surprising to note that they do not contain even a single reference to the ceremony of naming a child. Nor have we any evidence in the earliest extant Tamil Grammar, Tolkāppiam about this Nāmakaraṇa. In a few cūtras Tolkāppiam speaks about the personal names and their divisions.<sup>5</sup> But no mention is made about the manner or method of naming a child. The earliest available record about this ceremony, is in Cīlappatikāram.<sup>6</sup> It is stated there that after the day of purification ladies of the dancer community who are elder in age assembled in the house of Mātavi and announced the naming of her daughter. Hearing that the father, Kōvalaṇ, said that the name of his family goddess which saved his forefather from a ship-wreck should be the name of his daughter. A thousand dancer women named the pretty daughter as Manimēkalai and

5. Tol.: Col. atikāra cūtra 165 discusses various types of names which are generic and not personal in significance. It speaks about family names, group names, occupational names, names of possession, name of quality, names of relation, names due to the peculiarity of the organs of the body, names of people living in each land division, the names assumed while playing and the names of number, etc.)

Tol.: Col. atikāra Cūtra 174, simply mentions personal names as one of the names. In Cūtra 175 the personal name is divided into four types. In C: 176, the four classifications are given. Female names, male names, names of one object and names of many objects.

Tol.: Poruḷ atikāra Cūtra 20 speaks about names of persons in the five tracts of lands. They are formed either on names of objects and men or on occupations. It does not speak about personal names. In Cūtra 629 there is an interesting observation. This cūtra deals with the constituents of the name of a person belonging to one of the four castes. They are the name of the place of birth, the personal name and the name of the instrument suitable to the occupation of the caste to which the person belongs.

6. Cīlappatikāram : Aṇḱalakkātai 1 : 23-41: U. V. Saminatha Iyer Edition, 1929.



praised the king and country. Then, Kōvalan with his harlot Mātavi, gave away gold and other presents.<sup>7</sup> This account is recalled in the Epic Manimēkalai also.<sup>8</sup> Other than these two references, early Tamil Literature is silent about this practice and as such questions relating to this topic have to be left unanswered due to the paucity of evidence.<sup>9</sup>

Among the 105 names in the Caṅkam Classics, nearly 80% of them are the names of chieftains and kings. 8 names are those of poets; 6 are the names of ladies. A few names of heroes who distinguished themselves in war or in love are also found. In a collection containing 2186 lyrics and long poems running to 26,350 lines, if only over a hundred personal names are found, it clearly shows the general reluctance on the part of the poets to address an important individual by his personal name. Perhaps it was, as it is even today, considered as a mark of disrespect to address one high in society by his personal name.<sup>10</sup> More than three fourths of the Caṅkam stanzas are on love. Tolkāppiyam lays down a rule that in love poetry neither the name of heroes nor of heroines should be mentioned. This also explains the rarity of personal names.<sup>11</sup> The Caṅkam bards resort to another device to avoid the personal names. They address the chieftain or king in his generic name denoting the clan or family as in Cheppi<sup>12</sup> for a Cōla

7. The nine principal rules about the names deducible from the Gṛhya Sūtras given in the History of Dharma Śāstras, Pt. II, p. 243, by P. V. KANE and the eight rules of naming a child given in the Sacred Books of the Buddhist, Vol. II, pp. 193-196 may usefully be compared with the ceremony mentioned in Cilappatikāram. The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian names by E. G. WINTERCOTE, 1946 (re-print) will also be useful for this study.

8. Maṇimekalai, Tuvileluppiya kātal, 1; 33-35.

9. A few questions confronting a research worker are noted below:

a. In the ancient literature, is there only one name for an individual? If two names are to be found, what does the first name indicate?

b. Are there any nick names? Can anyone change his name if he so desires? Has his name been determined by the family in which he is born?

c. Is the short name a shortened form of a long name?

d. How are women named? Do they change their names after marriage or after widow-hood?

e. Is a part of the name of the parents a part of the name of a child?

f. Should a man have only one name throughout his life?

g. Is there any separate name for each caste? Is there any difference in the names assumed in the Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇṭya kingdoms? etc.

10. Tabooing names of kings and other sacred persons is dealt with in detail in the Golden Bough by Sir James FRAZER—Abridged Edition, MacMillan & Co., Ltd: 1949, pp. 257-262.

11. Tolkāppiyapporulatikāra Cūtra 54 says that in poetry dealing with five-fold love, the personal name of the hero or heroine should not be mentioned.

12. Akanāgūru 44.



monarch. This name is surmised to be one of the two families of the Cōla dynasty.<sup>13</sup> In some cases the king is addressed to merely by the name of the dynasty, as Cōla, Cēra, Pāṇṭiya.<sup>14</sup> Location of the country gives rise to generic names like Tennavan<sup>15</sup> i.e. of the South, Kuṭavarkōṇ<sup>16</sup> of the West. Rulers of a particular town, country or hills are called by the names of the town, country, etc. Erumaiyūraṇ<sup>17</sup> Chief of Erumaiyūr (may be modern Mysore) and Nālaikilāṇ.<sup>18</sup>

When the generic name is used as a part of a personal name of a chief or king, then it is preceded by a specific name of the individual. In these names, the generic part serves as titles. Eg. Pacum Pūṇ Pāṇṭiyan.<sup>19</sup>

Double names of persons in Caṅkam classics are common. There are altogether twenty instances. In some of the double names, the first element denotes the family as in Māṅkuṭi Marutaṇ<sup>20</sup> i.e. Marutaṇ of the Māṅkuṭi family. In a few names the first element serves as an attribute of fame as in Neṭumānañci.<sup>21</sup> But in a large number of cases we have no clue to say whether the first element denoted the parents' name or the name of the clan or race to which the individual belongs.<sup>21a</sup> Nor do we have any indication to say which of the two is the personal name for in the Caṅkam classics. There are instances where the first element is the personal name as in Pacumpūṇ Pāṇṭiyan,<sup>22</sup> as well as instances where the second element is the personal name as in Māṅkuṭimarutaṇ.<sup>23</sup> The present practice is to have the father's name for males and mother's name for females as the first element of the name. There is evidence in the Caṅkam literature to this practice as in Naṇṇaṇ cēy Naṇṇaṇ.<sup>24</sup> But there is also another practice of the father's name being mentioned after the son's or daughter's name as in Cēntaṇ tantaṇ Aḷicī,<sup>25</sup> Aiyai tantaṇ Tittaṇ.<sup>26</sup> So it is evident that any

13. C. T. K., p. 50 f. n.

14. Aṅkuṇūru 56.

15. Do. 14.

16. Paṭiṇṇupattu 55.

17. Akanāpūru 36.

18. Puṇāpūru 179.

19. Akanāpūru 231.

20. Puṇāpūru 72.

21. Do. 315.

21a. In the double name group, the first element in four names is Aṭaṇ as in Aṭaṇ Aṇiṇi. In two names it is Aṭi as in Aṭimanti. What these two words signify is not known. But the frequent occurrence of these two words is noteworthy.

22. See f. n. 19.

23. Puṇāpūru 72.

24. Malaipaṭukataṁ 1-64—See also Celvakkōṇṇaṇ Celvaṇ Aṅkuṇūru—104.

25. Kuṇṇutokai—258.

26. Akanāpūru—6. See also Akutai tantaṇ Celiyar Ibid., 96.

inference made on the basis of the present day practice will be erroneous. From the instance *Nappan cēy* *Nappan*, it is clear that in *Caṅkam* days father and son had the same name.

Among the personal names nearly eighty are disyllabic single-word names. The preference for this disyllabic short names may be attributed to the demands of the *Akaval* metre popular in the *Caṅkam* Age. But personal names of three four and seven syllables are also found. *Cerlātaṅ*<sup>27</sup> *Utiyañcēral*<sup>28</sup> *Celvak kaṭuñkō vāliyātaṅ*.<sup>29</sup>

A good number of names of men end in 'n': *Cāttan*.<sup>30</sup> A few names also end in 'i': *Añci*.<sup>31</sup> There are names of men without these two endings: *Uravappaltēr*<sup>32</sup> and *Maruku*<sup>33</sup> denoting a king and the god *Skanda* respectively. Ladies' names end in 'ai' or 'i': *Auvai*,<sup>34</sup> *Maruti*.<sup>35</sup> The same name is used both for males and females: *Akutai*<sup>36</sup> for a chief as well as for the daughter of the *Cōlas*. The *ḷ* ending, common in later day names of ladies, is not to be found in the *Caṅkam* classics.<sup>37</sup>

The significance of the personal names, though a tempting field, has baffled a successive array of learned Editors and Historians of the ancient classics.<sup>38</sup> Except for a few evasive suggestions here and there in their books, most of the names have been left unexplained. I have here made an attempt to explain the significance of these names. At the outset, I have to mention here that most of the explanations are speculations based on certain principles acceptable to scholars. In the absence of an Etymological or Historical Dictionary of Tamil one cannot but be speculative. The principles I have followed are as follows:—

27. *Akanānūru*—347.

28. do. 233.

29. *Puṇanāpūru*—387.

30. *Puṇanāpūru*—242.

31. Do. 92.

32. *Porunarāruppaṭai*—130.

33. *Narriṇai*—82.

34. *Cirupānāruppaṭai*—101.

35. *Akanāpūru*—222.

36. *Akanāpūru*—113 and 96.

37. *Tolkāppiya Col Atikāra Cūtras* 5 and 6 lay down the rule that words denoting the masculine gender end in 'n' and feminine gender end in 'i'. But the annotators have not shown any instance from the personal names to illustrate the two cūtrams.

38. Some writers are fond of deriving the proper names of this ancient period from some significant root or other. Though their attempts may not add visibly to the riches of Tamil philology, they are worth noticing. C. T. K. p. 50, f.n. Again the author has deprecated the derivation of personal and place names due to mere similarity of sounds on p. 110, f.n.



1. To see in what sense the name-word has been used in the contemporary literature. With the help of this usage, the significance of the name is inferred.

2. If the name seems to be of Sanskrit, Prakrit, or of Pali origin, to see if it is found at least in the contemporary literatures of those languages?

3. To consider whether the derivation of the name falls in line with the name-selecting methods of the primitive or ancient people. Here findings of Anthropologists are taken into consideration.

On the basis of these three principles the information gathered by me is given below.

Among the personal names, five are those of gods. Lord Subramania is called Murukaṇ<sup>39</sup> or Muruku for he is the god of youth and beauty (Muruku meaning beauty). The trident he holds in his hand is called vēl. The possessor of it is called Vēlaṇ. The Pujari who is possessed by the spirit of god Vēlaṇ is also called Vēlaṇ.<sup>40</sup> A devotee of the god Murukaṇ may also have his name Kantaṇ.<sup>41</sup> Thus, this practice of giving gods' name to people is as old as the Caṅkam Age. The consort of Muruka is called Valli.<sup>42</sup> This name means a creeper. See also Sanskrit: Valli. The Prakrit form of Krishnan<sup>43</sup> is Kaṇṇa. This is found in the double name of a chief: Kaṇṇaṇ eḷṇi.<sup>44</sup> One of the names of Buddha according to Amaram is Sāsta. A chief is named as Cāttan.<sup>45</sup> The names of a semi-divine being like Yakṣa names are given to a chief Iyakkāṇ.<sup>46</sup> The name of one of the seven benefactors is Akkuraṇ.<sup>47</sup> Evidently it is from Akrura. The Aryan hero Rama and his consort Sita are referred to as Irūmaṇ<sup>48</sup> and Cītai.<sup>49</sup> The name Paṇṇaṇ<sup>50</sup> may also be of Prakrit origin. Paṇṇaṇ means in that language Arhat. Sanskrit Kapila has given rise to the name of the poet Kapilar.<sup>51</sup> Atiyaṇ or Atikaṇ,<sup>52</sup> the name of a chief, is also suspected to be of Sanskrit origin. The first element of the

39. Puṛaṇāpūru—23.

40. Maturaiḱkāṇci—611.

41. Puṛaṇāpūru—390. It may also mean the Jain God Arhat who is called Kantan in Cilappatikāram Maturai-Katukān—5.

42. Naṛṇinaḷ—82.

43. Maturaiḱkāṇci—591.

44. Akaṇāpūru—197.

45. See f. n. 30.

46. Puṛaṇāpūru—71.

47. Petirruppattu—14.

48. Akaṇāpūru—70.

49. Puṛaṇāpūru—378.

50. Akaṇāpūru—117.

51. Puṛaṇāpūru—337.

52. Akaṇāpūru—142 and Puṛaṇāpūru—101.

double name Kaṅkaṇ kaṭṭi,<sup>53</sup> an Andhra chief, may be from the sacred river Ganges. Cēntaṇ<sup>54</sup> is from Jayanta. Piṇṭaṇ<sup>55</sup> is from Bhindū. (Ṛv) = Destroyer. Titti<sup>55a</sup> from Pali Titti = fulness (which is Tṛpti in Sanskrit). Kumanaṇ<sup>56</sup> from Pali, Kumainam = fish net. The Poet Mōci's name is from Skt: mōca = Moringa Pterygosperma Mbh.<sup>56a</sup> Thus we have evidence of Sanskrit and prakrit and Pali mixture in the names of the Caṅkam people.

The indigenous names of the Tamils are mostly the names of natural objects like plants, trees, and animals, etc. This practice of giving the names of natural objects is common in the primitive and ancient societies.

Attī <sup>57</sup>	From the tree Ficus racemosa.
Alici <sup>57a</sup>	From the tree Alici: may be Alangium decapitatum.
Utiyaṇ <sup>58</sup>	Goompain tree.
Kaṇaiyaṇ <sup>59</sup>	Wooden crossbar to tie the elephant called Kaṇaiyamaram.
Nannaṇ <sup>60</sup>	Red cedar: may be from his good character.
Piṭṭaṇ <sup>61</sup>	Worm killer plant.
Pulli <sup>62</sup>	Petal or a flower.
Potti <sup>63</sup>	Palmyra root.
Matti <sup>64</sup>	Garland or ruttish as an elephant.
Marutaṇ <sup>65</sup>	Marutha tree: Terminalia alata.
Manti <sup>66</sup>	Female monkey.
Āntai <sup>67</sup>	Owl. (Annotators give it as an instance of syco-pation. Ātaṇ + tantai = Āntai).
Erumai <sup>68</sup>	From buffalo.
Aviyaṇ <sup>69</sup>	A ram or sheep.

53. Akanānūru—44.
54. Kuṇuntokai—258.
55. Akanāpūru—152.
56. Puṇāpūru—158.
- 56a. Puṇāpūru—158.
- 57a. Naṇṇai—190.
- 57b. Akanāpūru—236.
58. Do. —162.
59. Do. —44.
60. Akanāpūru—199.
61. Do. —143.
62. Do. —209.
63. Puṇāpūru—211.
64. Akanāpūru—211.
65. See f. n. 20.
66. Akanāpūru—222.
67. Puṇāpūru—71.
68. Akanāpūru—252.
69. Do —271.



Vaṇṭaṇ <sup>70</sup>	From the bee.
Ōri <sup>71</sup>	Old jackal.
Errai <sup>72</sup>	The male of an animal mostly oxen or elephant.
Pēkaṇ <sup>73</sup>	From frog.
Poraiyaṇ <sup>74</sup>	From a hillock.
Kiḷḷi <sup>75</sup>	From parrot called Kiḷḷai.

Status in Society and personal character, etc., form the basis of some names.

Netiyōṇ <sup>76</sup>	Great in fame.
Vaḷḷiyaṇ <sup>77</sup>	Charitable.
Palaiyaṇ <sup>77a</sup>	One of the oldest family.
Naḷḷi <sup>78</sup>	Nali = greatness.
Kaṭuñkō <sup>79</sup>	The king who is hard to enemies.
Kuṭumi <sup>79a</sup>	Foremost among the group: outstanding.
Aiyai <sup>80</sup>	Head woman.
Auvai <sup>81</sup>	Mother or a Jain ascetic.
Aḷḷaṇ <sup>82</sup>	Close knit strong person.

Colour of person forms the basis of a few names.

Veḷiyaṇ <sup>83</sup>	Fair in colour.
Kāri <sup>84</sup>	Black in colour.
Māyōṇ (Kriṣṇa) <sup>43</sup>	Black in colour.

70. *Paṭirruppattu*—31.  
 71. *Puraṇāpūru*—153 also means the appearance of the matured honey comb.  
 72. *Akaṇāpūru*—44.  
 73. *Puraṇāpūru*—141.  
 74. *Nāṇṇai*—8.  
 75. *Puraṇāpūru*—399—It is also derived from *kiḷḷutal* or digging by G. U. Pore.  
 But the word has no such meaning in the Caṅkam days. C. T. K. f. n. p. 50.  
 76. *Perumpānāruppaṭai*—403.  
 77. *Paṭirruppattu*—61.  
 77a. *Maturaikkāñci*—508.  
 78. *Puraṇāpūru*—150—*Naḷḷi* means a crab also.  
 79. Do. —387.  
 79a. *Maturaikkāñci*—759.  
 80. *Akaṇāpūru*—6.  
 81. *Cirupānāruppaṭai*—101.  
 82. *Akaṇāpūru*—325.  
 83. Do. —152.  
 84. Do. —209. Possession of a horse called *Kāri* is traditionally said to be the cause of his name.

Physical peculiarities form the basis of three names.

Karikāḷaṇ <sup>85</sup>	Black leg.
Taḷumpaṇ <sup>85a</sup>	One who received martial wounds.
Kuṭṭuvaṇ <sup>86</sup>	Short in appearance.

Possession of an important object like chariot, etc., forming the basis of a name.

Uruvap pal tēr <sup>87</sup>	One having innumerable well-made chariots.
Pāri <sup>87a</sup>	In possession of land Pār.
Nalliyakkōṭaṇ <sup>88</sup>	In possession of the mountain Nalliyakkōtu.
Paraṇaṇ <sup>88a</sup>	In possession of Watch-tower.

A particular incident forming the basis of the name of a person.

Nār muṭiccēraḷ <sup>89</sup>	One who wore the fibre as his crown.
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Occupational name has become personal name.

Evvi <sup>90</sup>	Arrow shooter.
Āttaṇ <sup>91</sup>	Dancer.

Still thirteen names are left unexplained. No clue is found in the Caṅkam classics and it is better to leave them with the note, 'significance not known', than to fill the pages with wild guesses. They are eḷiṇi,<sup>92</sup> Titiyaṇ<sup>93</sup> Puṇṭuraḷ,<sup>94</sup> Aṇṇimiṇṇi,<sup>95</sup> Āy,<sup>96</sup> Āti Arumaṇ,<sup>97</sup> Ātanuṇkaṇ,<sup>97</sup> Avini,<sup>98</sup> Antuvan,<sup>99</sup> Akutai,<sup>100</sup> Kaḷāttalai,<sup>101</sup> Potiṇi,<sup>102</sup> Vaṇcaṇ.<sup>103</sup>

85. Porunarāṇṇuppaṭai—148. Some interpret this name as the kāla or yama of Gajan or elephant of Ceylon.

85a. Akanāṇṇūru—227.

86. Puṇaṇṇūru—394.

87. Porunarāṇṇuppaṭai—130.

87a. Puṇaṇṇūru—99.

88. Cīrupānāṇṇuppaṭai—126.

88a. Puṇaṇṇūru—236.

89. Akanāṇṇūru—199.

90. Puṇaṇṇūru—233.

91. Akanāṇṇūru—222.

92. Puṇaṇṇūru—230. It means a curtain. The Tamil Lexicon gives a probable basis Yavanika.

93. Akanāṇṇūru—25.

94. Do. —44.

95. Do. —145. Aṇṇi in Pali means mother. The name miṇṇi comes both for a male and for a female without any change.

96. Puṇaṇṇūru—133. May be from the Āyar community—cowherds.

97. Kuṇṭokai—293.

98. Puṇaṇṇūru—369.

99. Akanāṇṇūru—59.

100. Puṇaṇṇūru—233.

101. Puṇaṇṇūru—202.

102. Akanāṇṇūru—1.

103. Puṇaṇṇūru—389.



## TELUGU LOANS IN TAMIL<sup>1</sup>

BY

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In the Dravidian group of languages, Telugu speakers number more than Tamils. Though the geographical distribution of these two language speakers are in the Northern and Southern extremities of the Peninsular India, we have evidence from Sangam Age that these two had familiar contacts with each other. This and the large number of loan words noted by the Tamil Lexicon<sup>2</sup> tempted me to select this topic.

In nine places Sangam Literature refers to the Andras, who were called there as 'Vadukar'.<sup>3</sup> They were mentioned as the enemies of Tamil Chieftains and as a warrior race speaking a different language. Sangam Anthologies fortunately preserve a few names of the Andra Chieftains such as Pulli, Kangan Katti, and Erumaiyūraṇ. There is a reference in Akanānūru that kaṭṭi, one of the Andra chiefs became a captain of the Chera army. From this it can be inferred that at the beginning the Andra chiefs were not in good terms with the Tamil kings, but later they became allies. There is mention of chief called Āy-Aṇṭīraṇ in Puranānūru (241). If the derivation of aṇṭīraṇ from Andra is accepted, then that chief can also be considered as from the Telugu country. Except for these few references no other evidence is available in the Sangam classics about the Vadukar and their activities in Tamil land.

1. I acknowledge my indebtedness to the Tamil Research Department of the University of Travancore and to Prof. SUBRAMONIAM under whose direction this topic has been investigated. My Telugu knowledge is practically nil, but I am lucky enough to get the assistance of Puttavarthi Nārāyaṇa CHABLO, Etymologist of the Malayalam Lexicon Department and a distinguished poet in his language. For the Historical Introduction, I have referred to the following books.

1. Aralccitokuti, by M. Raghava AYYANGAR, pp. 313-339.
2. Cōlas, by K. A. Nīlakanta SASTRI, pp. 152, 163, 339.
3. Nayaks of Madura, by R. Sathyanatha IYER, *Inscriptions* 332-373.

2. Tamil Lexicon has given 488 words as loan from Telugu to Tamil. Out 488 words, sixteen were not found in the Telugu dictionary, and 17 were not of the origin of Telugu but Sanskrit and 4 words of Hindi origin.

3. Agananūru 107, 213, 253, 281, 295, 375, 381.  
Purananūru 378.  
Kuruntokai 11.

But in historic times we have evidence of intimate relationship between these two Dravidian families. The sack of Vatapi by Parañcōti, the commander-in-Chief of Mamalla, in 641 A.D. opened the way for intimate contacts of the two people. *Bakti* movement started by Gnanasambanda and engineered by the anti-Jain and anti-Buddhistic feeling, gained momentum during the time of Pallavas. *Devaram* is replete with the evidence of the movement of saints and divine persons throughout South India including *Andra Desa*, visiting temples and singing hymns. This movement would have also brought the two language speakers closer in contact.

During the time of the Imperial Cholas, the major part of the Telugu country was under the Chola sovereigns. Parāntaka I subjugated in 915 A.D., the Vaidumbas who were a Telugu speaking family of rulers. Marital alliances were resorted too, by the Cholas to maintain the subject kingdoms in peace. Prince Arinjaya the third son of Parantaka I, married Kalyāni a Vaidumba princess. The daughter of Rajaraja the Great, Kundavai was given in marriage to Chalukya king Vimalathitiya. Rajaraja Narendra, the son of Vimalathitiya married Ammankaidēvi, the daughter of Rajendra I. When there was no heir apparent to the imperial Chola dynasty, the Chola-Chalukya prince Kulōthunga, became the ruler of the vast Chola empire and married his uncle's (Rajendra II) daughter. This intimate and long lasting alliance brought the Tamils and Āndras very close to each other.

Again this contact has been revived during the time of the Vijayanagara kings. The viceroys of Krishna Devaraya, defeated the Muslims and consolidated the Madura kingdom. Another representative of the Vijayanagar Emperor ruled over the Tanjore country also. For nearly two hundred years, the rule of Nayaks lasted in Tamil land. For effective administration the Tamil country was divided into a number of *pālayams* and Telugu chiefs were appointed as the heads of these *Pālayapaṭṭu*. As a result of this arrangement there was a migration and settlement of the Telugu people in each town and village of the Tamil Nad. Their descendants are still found in almost all the important towns and villages speaking a corrupt form of Telugu in their houses. Very few know the script of their mother tongue, but use Tamil for all practical purposes. We have reason to think that Telugu was the court language in Madura, for it is found in nearly about 25 Telugu inscriptions belonging to the Nayaks, in and around Madura. Many of the Vijayanagara Samandhas and the Nayak rulers were patrons of Tamil letters. Saluva Tirumalai Rayar is said to be the benefactor of poet Kalamekam. Krishna Devaraya himself is a good scholar of Tamil and in his court flourished, Kumarasaraswathi, Mandala Purusa, the author of *Sudamani Nikantu*, *Gananapirakasar*, the author of *Manjarippa* and *Kaccikkalampakam*, *Tattuvappirakasar* and *Hariharadasar*, the author of *Irusamaya Vilakkam*. *Arunagirinatha* of Tiruppugal fame was patronised by Prouda Devaraya. This explains the



usage of nearly ten Telugu words in his work. Supratipakavirayar, the author of Viralividu Tōtu was patronised by Kūlappa Naicken, a Telugu chief who ruled over a portion of Tamil land in the 17th century.

These continuous and intimate contacts of Telugu with Tamil made way for nearly 450 Telugu words in Tamil. Among the Dravidian Nations it is Andra-desa which had continuous contact with Tamil land from the early days of Sangam, and it is Telugu which has contributed the largest number of loan words among the Dravidian languages to Tamil.

Among the loan words a fifty has been used in Tamil Literature. The earliest literature which uses the Telugu words is Kamban's Ramayanam. In Yuthakanda he uses the words Tammi and Akkaṭa. He is followed by Mandala Purusa, the author of Sudamani Nikantu in the usage of Telugu words like nēradu and Cēkaṇṭi etc. In Tiruppugal is found the usage of oyil, kacati, kaccutti, kolucu, kunuku, paṇṭar, vacavan, paṇkāru. In Viralividu Tootu, we find the greatest number of Telugu terms. In this small prabanda, fifteen Telugu words have been used. Sivappirakasa Muniyar and the author of Panavidu Tootu also use Telugu words. Stray stanzas of Tanippāṭal also make use of Telugu words. All these show that Telugu borrowals are not recent and have been accepted and used even by poets.

Nearly one-fourth of the Telugu loans are still current in Tamil-nad particularly in Madras and other Northern Tamil districts.

Hybrid Telugu words are also used in Tamil. Tamil Lexicon gives 39 hybrids. They fall into three types namely Telugu-Tamil, Telugu-Urdu and Telugu-Sanskrit.

Tamil + Telugu,	ātu + doḍḍi	= āṭṭuttoṭṭi
Telugu + Tamil,	erra + kāṭu	= eraṅkāṭu
Telugu + Sanskrit,	doḍḍa + sasitri	= toṭṭasāstri
Telugu + Urdu,	Kolacu + māl	= Kolaccumāl

Rudolf HALLIG and Walther Von WARTBURG have evolved a scheme of arranging the concepts, belonging to different walks of life. I have applied this original scheme for the study of Telugu loans as it is done for the Marathi loans in Tamil by P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM and V. I. SUBRAMONIAM in *Indian Linguistics* (p. 108).

A. Universe. The plants. ānakam; iraḷi; cāppira; cikiṭima.

Space: eṭar; eraṅkāṭu; kammatam.

B. Man. The physical being; Health and illness, Illness, infirmities, deformations,

Illness: uppacam; upparam; caluppu; koṭṭu.

Deformations: *kapōti*.

The Cares.

The Medicines: *kalkikam; kāyaṅkaṭṭutal; kāpaṇam; ellam; sonṭi*.

Cloth: *iravikkai, kuṇṭancu, cōkkāy, tappaṇcu, tōvatti, tōmtarā, val-lavāṭṭu, kuṭṭai*.

Ornaments: *kammal, paṭṭaṭai, kolucu, pāvili, pillāni, aṇṭu, kaccaṭ-ṭikai, irāvirēku, civarēkku, kontamani, tuttuckammal, cikaitāṭu, toppāram, cintākku*.

The needs of the Human Being.

Food: *uppaṭṭu, ampali, caṅkaṭi, cantakam, caṅtikai, cuṇṇukkaṭṭi, cimiliyuntai, koṭṭuracam, kanti, peṇṭaikkāy*.

The Soul and the Intellect.

(a) Generalities, intelligence, wisdom: *kapōti*.

Sentiments: *kacati, camālam, keli, cimmālam*.

The manifestations and results of sentiments: *cuṇṇitam, tākku*.

Man, the Social Being. Social life in general, constitution of society.

Marriage: *cēṭai*.

Family relationship: *appāyi, koṭṭukku, muṇṭaimōppi, talli*.

Games and distractions: *koppi, toṅku, karuṭi, tippilātam*.

Man at Work.

Generalities

Tools in General: *ākkarivāl, kaṭṭari, irampamu, kiricu, kaṭṭappārai, camatāṭu, kuṇṭakam*.

The different trades and professions: *irayacakkāraṇ, kutumī, kollaccē-vakaṇ, kuttikkollaṇ, tarakari, kuntaṇakkāraṇ, kavāṭaikkāraṇ, cēṇṭiravar, kampattakkāraṇ*.

Dwelling house: *kaṭṭitam*.

Cooking utensils and vessels: *kavvam, ciṭṭi, jōtu*.

Social Organizations. The Communities.

Village: *kuppam*.

Caste: *iraṭṭi, pattar, kammavār, upperavar, kōmaṭṭi, vālācai, raju*.

Music: *kavḷi pantu, pantuvaraḷi, cūvi*.

Instruments: *itamāṇam, makuṭi, cēkaṇṭi*.

Man and the Universe:

Weight and measures: *karicai*.



It is clear from the analysis that the Telugu speakers have mainly contributed terms for ornaments, food, cloths, instruments of work and caste names.

#### Phonology.

"Since in Tamil for unvoiced aspirates, voiced unaspirates and voiced aspirates the surd symbol alone is used in writing, it is very difficult to determine the exact pronunciation prevalent in those days when they were written. So the current pronunciation is followed while discussing the phonology."<sup>4</sup>

I am giving below those few words which have absorbed without any change (the total number is twenty-seven).

Telugu	Tamil
Ciṭṭi	ciṭṭi
tammi	tammi
talli	talli
tempu	tempu
pillāni	pillāni

#### Vowel Changes.

Enunciative 'i' has been added particularly to those Telugu words which begin with 'r', 't', 'l' because they do not begin a word in Tamil.

Telugu	Tamil
tekkiyamu	itakkiyam
damāramu	itamānam
ravika	iravikkai
rava	iravai
lāhiri	ilāhiri
lantsamu	ilañcam

#### Initial Changes:

Telugu	Tamil	Telugu	Tamil
a	e	o	u
allamu	ellam	obbaṭṭu	uppaṭṭu
		ommattsu	ummaccu
Medial		Medial	
Telugu	Tamil	Telugu	Tamil
a	ā	u	i

4. Marathi loans in Tamil by P. C. GANESHEUNDARAM and V. I. SUBRAMONIAM in *Indian Linguistics*, 14, 104-123 (1954).

Telugu		Tamil		Telugu		Tamil
jap̄hara		oāppira		kirusu		kirusu
koṣaru		koṣṭāru		buruḍa		pirutai
a	>	i		u	>	au
dap̄ili		tippili		savati		cautti
kaṣṭadamu		kaṣṭiṣam		savatu		cauttu
a	>	u		e	>	a
ubbasamu		uppusam		jeṭṭi		jaṭṭi
melakuvā		melukkuvai		dōmatera		tōmtarā
a	>	e		e	>	i
gaḍuvu		keṣuvu		nenaru		niṇaru
gavini		keviṇi		beluku		pilukku
a	>	ai		ē	>	a
sikatādu		cikaitāṭu		takkēḍa		takkaṭai
kalavaramu		kaḷaiyavāram		o	>	i
i	>	a		poḍi		piṭi
geggili		kekkali		o	>	u
takkiḍi		takkaṭi		goṇugu		kuṇuku
i	>	u		Disappearing of 'u' in the middle.		
garīḍi		karuṭi		pālumālu		pālmāru
kuḍimi		kuṭumi		Adding 'i' in the middle		
i	>	e		dūbradiṇḍi		tūppiratiṇṭi
gili		keli				
siḍi		ceṭil				
i	>	a				
pārupattemu		pārapattiyam				
battuḍu		pattar				

## Final

Telugu		Tamil		Telugu		Tamil
a	>	ā		u	>	ē
pulla		pullā		cuvvālu		cuvvālē
golla		gollā		u	>	ai
a	>	i		dimmu		timmai
nanna		nanni		e	>	u
pella		PELLI		kaṇḍe		kaṇṭu
a	>	u		e	>	ai
dimmisa		timicu		garise		karicai
ḍāka		tāḱku		sidde		ciṭṭai
a	>	ai		Disappearing of vowel in the end.		
citika		ciṭṭikai		edari		etar
rekka		iṛakkai		tcokkāya		cokkāy



The ultimate enunciative 'u' of a Telugu word disappears in 80 out of 100 cases, in Tamil.

cippamu	cippam	uggamu	ukkam
nēramu	nēram	lāvaṇamu	ilāvaṇam

The phonological study reveals that the vowel *a* can correspond to *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ai*, vowel *i* can correspond to *a*, *u*, *e* vowel *u* to *a*, *i*, *ē*, *ai*, *au*, vowel *e* to *a*, *i*, *u*, *ai*, vowel *e* to *a*, and vowel *o* to *i*, *u*. Another peculiarity is that most of the vowel changes occur in the medial position.

### Consonantal Changes

Telugu	Tamil	Telugu	Tamil
Voiced unaspirate <i>g</i> becomes a surd <i>k</i> .		Voiced unaspirate <i>d</i> becomes unvoiced unaspirate <i>t</i> .	
<i>guṇṭaka</i>	<i>kuṇṭakam</i>	<i>dibba</i>	<i>tippai</i>
<i>baigāru</i>	<i>paṇḷōaru</i>	<i>addamu</i>	<i>attam</i>
<i>daṇḍaga</i>	<i>teṇṭaki</i>	<i>kabōdi</i>	<i>kapōti</i>
Surd is geminated.		<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>paluku</i>	<i>palukku</i>	<i>pisināri</i>	<i>nacunāri</i>
<i>kōmati</i>	<i>kōmaṭṭi</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ṭ</i>
<i>egatāḷi</i>	<i>ekattāḷi</i>	<i>ḍabu</i>	<i>ṭappa</i>
<i>dabu</i>	<i>tāppu</i>	<i>eḍari</i>	<i>eṭar</i>
<i>pūḷācenḍu</i>	<i>pūḷāccenṭu</i>	<i>gariḍi</i>	<i>karuṭi</i>
Guttural plosive becoming palatal plosive.		<i>ḍ</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>koṅga</i>	<i>cōṅku</i>	<i>biraḍa</i>	<i>pirutai</i>
Sibilant has become a palatal plosive.		<i>camuḍādu</i>	<i>camātāṭu</i>
<i>sikaiṭāḍu</i>	<i>cikaiṭāṭu</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ṭ</i>
<i>vṛāyasamu</i>	<i>irāyacam</i>	<i>regadi</i>	<i>rekaṭi</i>
<i>pavisi</i>	<i>pavici</i>	<i>dōku</i>	<i>ṭōṅku</i>
Palatal voiced unaspirate becomes palatal plosive.		<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>jēgaṇṭa</i>	<i>cēkaṇṭi</i>	<i>balapamu</i>	<i>palapam</i>
<i>bajītu</i>	<i>pacītu</i>	<i>ibbandi</i>	<i>ippanti</i>
		<i>dabba</i>	<i>tappai</i>
		<i>ba</i>	<i>va</i>
Dental <i>t</i> has become palatal plosive.		<i>kabādamu</i>	<i>kavātam</i>
<i>omattsu</i>	<i>ummaccu</i>	<i>bāgu</i>	<i>vāḱku</i>
<i>oṭtsu</i>	<i>occu</i>	Adding <i>l</i> in the end.	

tj into platal plosive.

tjantika cantikai

tjaṇṭa ceṇṭai

Labial plosive p into guttural k.

ānapa ānakam

p > t  
pippi tippi

Adding vi in the end.

kaṇṇara kaṇṇaravi

kaṇṇara kaṇṇuravi

Dropping h in the initial.

hoṇalu oṇil

thivi tivi

Dropping t in the initial.

tcappa cappa

tcokka cokka

t > ṭ

soṇṭi coṇṭi

kamma

debba

Adding a final n.

guptigolla

tagara

Adding m or am for neutral endings.

ānapa

gūtu

ṭ

tagara

Guttural fricative h has become guttural k.

lāhiri

dz

randzakamu

dz

dzantintsu

dzaṇṭa

ph

japhara

ebhrāsi

kammal

tappal

kuttikkollan

takilan

ānakam

kāttam

l

takilan

ilākiri

c

iraṇṇacamu

j

janti

jaṇṭai

p

cāppira

ēppiraci

The changes in the consonants are to a large measure due to the lack of *varga* sounds in Tamil. Other consonantal changes are few and negligible.

It is surprising to find that in the usage of Telugu words in Tamil, there is very little change in grammatical significance. Except in two cases where a noun is used as an adjective (*doddasastrī*, *kotturasam*) all other words are used in Tamil exactly as they are in Telugu. Equally surprising is the absence of semantic divergencies in the usage of Telugu words in Tamil. Except for one instance (*Arata* = boat in Telugu = projection of a jewel in Tamil,) all other words are used in the same meaning in Tamil as they are in Telugu. This may be due to the intimate association of the two language groups which lasted for over eight hundred years.



## SANSKRIT KAVA- AND RELATED WORDS

BY

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In TPS 1954 pp. 144 ff. H. W. BAILEY draws attention to an Indo-Iranian base *kav-* : *ku* 'to be small'. In Iranian there is found a considerable family of words based on this root, e.g. Av. *kutaka-* 'small', Pahl. *kavdt* 'young animal' *kavātak* 'young boy', *kōtak* 'small', Pers. *kōtāh* 'short, small, little, mean', *kōdak* 'small, a child'. From this base also, as BAILEY shows, is derived the Avestan proper name *Kavāta-*. There is however some doubt about the proposed development of meaning, 'young' to 'youthful, with the vigour of youth'. This takes us quite outside the semantic range of the words attested from this base. A more suitable meaning would be either simply 'small, tiny' or 'the youngest (of a family of children)'. In the same way the meaning 'most youthful in vigour' for *Kaniška* can hardly be justified from the meanings of the words derived from the root *kan-* 'small', and some alternative meaning as suggested above would appear to be preferable.

In Sanskrit the word *kumārā* 'child, young boy' is derived from this same root with the addition of suffixation which appears also in Lith *kumelys* 'foal' and *kumelė* 'filly'. The stem is therefore in origin an adjective meaning 'little'. This meaning may be seen in the compound *kumārā-deṣṇa-*, an adjective applied to dice in Rv. 10, 34, 7. If this bahuvrīhi compound were interpreted according to the ordinary meaning of *kumārā-* ('child') it should mean 'whose gifts are children', a sense which is totally unsuitable to the context. The difficulty is usually got round by the assumption of a rather elaborate but not very convincing meaning, 'whose gifts are like those of children (who give things only to take them back again)'. A simple and satisfactory meaning is obtained if we assume that the first member here simply means 'small', in accordance with this etymology: 'whose gifts are small'.

The adjective *komala-* 'tender' is usually regarded as being connected with *kumāra-*, but opinions differ about the precise explanation of the relationship. As far as I can see the only satisfactory explanation is that proposed by CHARPENTIER (*Monde Or.* 1.18) who regards it as a prakritised *kaumāra-*. There is no phonetic difficulty because the *l/r* fluctuation is a common phenomenon, and the short vowel of the second syllable is found

in Pkt. *kumara-*, *kumarī* which are found beside *kumāra*, *kumārī*. From the semantic point of view this is most satisfactory since a shift of meaning is automatically associated with secondary derivation by *vrddhi*. The adjective is to be interpreted as 'having the quality of a *kumāra*- i.e. tender'. It should be noted that this word is unknown to the early Sanskrit literature and to Pali. This means that it was adopted into the literary language from some Prakrit dialect at a comparatively late stage. The origin of the Prakrit form is quite simple as shown above.

In addition to *kumārā-* and its derivative *komala-* there are a number of other stems in Sanskrit which can be traced to the base *kav-* : *ku* 'small'. There was an adjective *kava-* 'small' which though no longer used as an independent adjective even in the earliest period, was preserved as the first member of a number of compounds. Three of these are recorded, namely *kavapatha-* 'a small, poor, inferior road', *kavāgni-* 'a little fire', and *kavoṣṇa-* 'slightly warm, tepid'. No satisfactory explanation has so far been provided for this stem *kava-* but it can now be quite simply explained on the basis of the root *kav-* : *ku* 'small'.

Although the adjective *kava-* no longer exists in independent use in Sanskrit, the corresponding negative *ākava-* 'not small' appears in a number of passages in the *Rgveda*.

1. 158. 1 *prā yāt sastrāthe ākavābhir ūtī* "when ye have gone forth with not small (or deficient) aids".

6. 33. 4. *sā tvām na indrākavābhir ūtī sākṣā viśvāyur avitā vṛdhē bhūh* 'With non-deficient aid(s), O Indra, be thou for us a friend all our life, a helper for our prosperity'.

6. 60. 3. *yuvām rādhobhir ākavebhir indrāgne asmé bhavatam uttamébhiḥ* 'May you two be by us, O Indra and Agni, with not small (poor, deficient) bounties, with the best.'

5. 58. 5. *arā ivéd ācaramā āheva prā pra jāyante ākavā māvobhiḥ*, 'Of whom there is no last like spokes, like days, they are continually born, not small (deficient) in respect of their greatness'.

3. 54. 16. *dātrām rakṣethe ākavair ādabdhā*. 'You maintain your liberality with not small (gifts), being undeceived'.

As will be seen from the contexts *ākava-* means 'not small' but has also acquired the additional connotation of 'not too small, not inadequate, not deficient,' just as *kavapatha-* means not only a 'small road', but more specifically a 'poor mean, inferior road' and *kavāgni-* a 'low fire' and one 'that burns badly'.



Of the three words given by the grammarians as compounded with *kava-*, *kavapatha-* is stated to be Vedic. It is not found in any extant work, but in view of the statement of Pāṇini, it must be assumed that it existed in some Vedic text no longer extant. The word *kavoṣṇa-* is quoted from a sūtra, so both are adequately attested to be of respectable antiquity. The TS. has *kavā-tiryañc-* 'a little across.' In addition to these there is found a similar compound *kavāri-* (*kava-* + *arī-*) which is found in the Ṛgveda (also the negative *ākavāri-*). On the meaning of this word there is general agreement; it is 'mean, stingy, niggardly'. The main difficulty in its interpretation is the last member of the compound, which is one of the problem words of the Veda. It cannot be said that this word has been properly worked out yet, and there is not space here to go into the question. For the purpose of the present article it will be sufficient to note that *arī-* in the good sense refers in particular to the liberal and pious patrons who patronised the Vedic singers, cf. RV 5. 33. 6 *prā aryāḥ stuṣe tuvimaghāsya dānam* and GELDNER. Ved St. III. 73 ff. Liberality was one of their characteristics, so *Kavāri-* is one who is 'not much of an *arī-*' (hence illiberal, stingy, mean') just as *kavoṣṇa-* means 'not very warm'.

There is another word meaning 'stingy, mean' in the Veda, which occurs only once, namely *kavatū-* 7.32. 9. This has usually been explained (as have also been some of the words mentioned above), as being connected with *kavī-* 'wise, a wise man', and derived from an IE root *geu-* 'to notice, understand' (in Skt. only with the prefix *ā* 'to intend'; *ā kuvate*, *ākūta-*). The idea is that meaning developed from 'wise' to 'cautious, careful', and from that to 'avaricious, stingy'. Yet it seems on the whole unlikely that a term denoting people who were obviously considered very despicable should be etymologically *kavī-* which describes those who are exalted in wisdom above ordinary mankind. It seems better to take this word also as derived from *kav-* : *ku-* 'small', just like the stems previously discussed, particularly since we have observed a tendency for derivations of this root to develop the additional meaning of 'too small, inadequate, deficient, poor, inferior, mean.'

The stem *kava* in *kavoṣṇa-* is generally regarded as being etymologically connected with the pejorative prefix *ku-*, and both are usually connected with the base of the interrogative pronoun. The etymological connection between *ku-* and *kava-* can be justified, but only if *ku-* is also derived from the root under discussion, and not if it is connected with the interrogative pronoun. The latter connection has always seemed to me exceedingly dubious, and now that there is available an alternative explanation which causes no semantic difficulty it is time for it to be dropped. A survey of the compounds containing *ku-* as their first element reveals a considerable number in which *ku-* simply means 'small' and not 'bad'.



Such are *kugrāma-* 'a petty village'; *kutapa-* 'slightly hot' (cf. *kavoṣṭha-*), *kudīṣṭi-* a measure of length (said to be longer than a *diṣṭi-* and shorter than a *vitastī*, but to judge by the etymology probably originally something shorter than a *diṣṭi-*), *kudvāra-* 'a back door', *kunadī* 'a small river', *kuvakra-* 'slightly bent', *kuśvabhra-* 'a small hole', *kusarīt-* 'a small stream'. In later classical Sanskrit compounds with *ku-* are made at will, and in great numbers, according to the prescription of Pāṇini, and in the compounds so made up the prefix normally means 'bad'. In the earlier language they are not very common and not freely made as later, and the meaning 'little' is much more prominently present. Note for instance the contrast between Āpastamba's *kuṣṭi-* 'a byway' (= *kavapatha-*), and the later artificial use of this word in the sense of 'bad conduct'. In view of these instances of *ku-* meaning simply 'little' in the early language, we should have no hesitation in seeing the root *ku-* 'small' in this prefix. The use of the simple root without any suffix in this way is paralleled by the prefix *duṣ-* (√ *duṣ-* 'to be spoiled').

The pejorative or depreciatory use of the suffix arises from the fact that, as already noticed above, this root and its derivatives tend to mean not only 'small' but also 'too small, mean, inadequate, deficient'. The development of meaning is very natural. For instance the stem *kūyava* is quoted from RV in the sense 'bringing a bad harvest' and from VS in the sense of 'a bad harvest'. Since a small harvest and a bad harvest mean the same thing it is quite natural for the prefix *ku-* to develop a pejorative sense in this context. The pejorative use was apparently beginning already in the Indo-Iranian period, because, in the one example of this kind of compound quoted from the Avesta, it has this sense: *kunāirī* 'harlot', i.e. a woman of lesser status, of not much worth (not as Bt. would have it 'was für ein Weib').

It is a fact that other forms of the interrogative pronoun are used as depreciating prefixes: *kad-* in *kad-anna-* 'poor food', etc., *kā-* in *kāpatha-* 'an inferior way', and *ktm* in *ktm-rājan-* 'a bad king'. The commonest of these is *kad-*, which (P. 6. 3. 101) replaces *ku-* when the second member begins with a vowel. An old example is *kadarya-* (Chānd. Up; cf also Pa. *kadariya-*) 'mean miserly', i.e., much the same as *kavārī-* apart from the alteration of the prefix. No parallels are found outside Indo-Aryan for such a use of these forms of the pronoun. The explanation of all these forms is to be sought in the homophony existing between *ku-* 'little, poor' and the interrogative *ku-* (in *kūtra*, *kūha*, etc.). Confusion between these two, and connecting them etymologically whether consciously or unconsciously, led to other forms of the pronominal stem being used like the pejorative *ku-*. The commonest form so used is the neuter *kad-*, and in



this case there was obviously a striving to avoid using *ku-* before vowels, because in that case it would lose its syllabic quality. The feminine *kā-* is much less frequently used and tends to carry with it the additional idea of effeminacy, as in *kāpuruṣa-*. The neuter *kim* is laid down in P. 2. 1. 64, to be so used in the sense of blame, but it is only very sparingly so used.

The prefix *ku-* was seen in the adjective *kubjā-* 'hump-backed, crooked' by BR, which was analysed as *ku + ubja-* (✓ *ubj-* 'to press down'). The difficulty of course is that in that case we should have had a long vowel (\**kūbja-*) and there is no reason why such a vowel should have been shortened. Since then a number of etymologies for this word have been proposed, both from within and without Indo-European, none of which are free from objection. It may be perhaps worth while to start from BR's suggestion again, but with a slightly different analysis, namely *ku-bjā-*. The latter element as given in this analysis is supported by the occurrence of a similar form in the compound *uru-bjā-*. From the root *pad-* we have some forms with elimination of the radical vowel and assimilation of the initial unvoiced consonant: Skt. *upabddā-* 'trampling' and Av. *frabda-* 'fore part of the foot'. The IE root \**pāg-* 'to fix' appears in Sanskrit in various derivatives (*pajrā-*, *pājas*, *pañjara-*). Under the same conditions which produced °*bdā-* in *upabddā-* we should have from this root °*bjā-* and that is what appears to exist in the compound *uru-bjā-*.<sup>1</sup> This word occurs only once, in RV. 9. 77. 4 *gāvām urubjām abhy ūṣati vrajām* 'he moves towards the extensively constructed stall of the cows'. The adjective is usually explained as for *ud-ubjā-*, meaning 'opened', but it can hardly be a permissible method of Vedic exegesis to substitute for a word which only occurs once another word which does not occur at all. Clearly the word should be left as it is, and it makes perfectly good sense when analysed as above.

The second member °*bjā-* being attested in this compound, there would seem to be some justification in explaining *kubjā-* in the same way. The compound *ku-bjā-* may be rendered 'deficiently formed, poorly, badly constructed'.

An adjective *ākūpāra-* occurs twice in the RV: 5. 39. 2. *vidyāma tāsyā te vayām ākūpārasya dāvāne*, and 10. 109. 1. *ākūpārah salilāh*. BR renders it in both cases 'unbounded'. In VS 24. 35 the word occurs in the sense of

1. SCHEFTELOWITZ (IF 33, 151, note), gave a somewhat similar analysis, but connecting with Gk. *pégē*, 'spring'. This does not produce a suitable sense in the context, and Sāyana's version on which the comparison is based is clearly fanciful.



'ocean'. According to this there is a development of meaning from 'boundless' to 'ocean' as unbounded which is natural enough. Geldner on the other hand renders the word as 'ocean' in both the Rigvedic passages. On this word Yāska remarks *samudro 'py akūpāra ucyate ucyate 'kūpāro bhavati mahā-pārah*. The usual explanation of this word is *a-* 'not' + *kū-* 'where' + *pāra-* 'further side', which is presumed to mean 'not having a further side anywhere'. In view of the existence of the root *ku-* 'little' one might expect *a-kū-* if = *mahā-* to contain this root, so the translation would be 'whose distance across is not little.'

There is, however, some reason to believe that the matter is not quite as simple as that. It is a very rare word, and of the two occurrences in the R̥gveda, the meaning is only really suitable for the second, which occurs in the later tenth book. In looking for the original significance of the term we should base ourselves on the first passage, 5. 39. 2. Here the renderings offered seem forced. One would expect the word in this context to mean simply 'generous, liberal', and the translation would be 'may we know of thee as such a one, generous for giving.'

The crux of the matter lies in the final element of the compound which is assigned to the root *pṛ-* 'to cross'. It is proposed now that *-pāra* in this compound is not derived from this root *pṛ-* 'to cross' but from a root *pṛ-* 'to give' which has not been separately recognised in the dictionaries. Well known nominal derivatives from this root are *pūrtá-* an act of pious liberality (such as feeding Brahmans, digging a well etc.), and *pūrti-* 'granting' bestowing'. The etymological connection of these words with Gk. *époron* 'gave, provided' *péprōtai* 'is assigned, fated', Lat. *portio*, etc. is well established (WP II 41, EARNOUT-MEILLET, p. 735). The corresponding verb also occurs in Sanskrit, but it has not been recognised because it has become homophonous with the verb meaning 'to fill'. In the Veda we have beside *pṛṇāti* 'fills' (< *pṛ—n—eH—ti*) a quite distinct verb *pṛṇāti* 'gives' (< *pṛ—neH—ti*), from which *pūrtá-* and *pūrti-* are derived. As an instance of this verb we may quote RV 10. 117. 5 *pṛṇyāt in nādhāmānāya távyān* 'the powerful man should give (practise charity) to the needy'. The numerous other passages in which this verb occurs will be found in BR's dictionary, but they are put under the root *par-* 'to fill' on the assumption of a secondary development of meaning. But in view of the etymological connections noted above this is certainly wrong. Vedic *pṛ*, *pṛṇāti* 'give' should be treated as a separate verb, and along with *pūrtá-*, *pūrti-* should be connected with Gk. *époron* etc. In the Greek etymological dictionaries there is also confusion, since this verb is considered to contain the same root as *peirō* 'cross'. They are of course quite different roots, just as Vedic *pṛ-* 'to give' is distinct from *pṛ-* 'to cross'. The three IE roots are *per-* 'to cross', *perH-* 'to give, assign', and *peH-* 'to fill'.



I would propose to analyse *ākūpāra-* on the assumption that the last member °*pāra-* is derived from the root *pṛ-* 'to give', so that *a-kū-pāra-* will mean 'not giving little', i.e. 'generous'. As pointed out above this is the sense which is most suitable for the passage RV 5. 39. 2. On the other hand in the later poem the meaning is clearly 'boundless'. It is exceedingly unlikely that there existed two genuine words *ākūpāra-*, one containing °*pāra* from the root *pṛ-* 'to give' and the other °*pāra-* from the root *pṛ-* 'to cross'. The new meaning is best accounted for on the assumption that the later author was using an ancient, obsolete word which he did not properly understand. The root *pṛ-*, along with its derivatives was tending to become obsolete, and eventually it disappeared. It was natural that this traditional word, when no longer properly understood, should be analysed as containing °*pāra-* 'crossing, further side', which was the only *pāra-* which remained familiar. The poet of 10, 109. 1 used the word that had been previously used by the poet of 5. 39. 2 but since he did not understand it, gave it a new meaning based on an incorrect analysis.

## ON THE INTERPRETATION OF A RULE OF PANINI

BY

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"*antaram bahiryogopasamvyānayoḥ*" is the thirty-sixth rule in the very first section of the first Adhyāya of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It occurs also as a Gaṇasūtra under i. 1. 27. Ancient and modern commentators have differed very widely regarding the interpretation of this rule. The meaning of *bahiryoga* is connexion with something external, but then *upasamvyāna* (inner garment, underwear) would be superfluous for it is also connected with something external, viz., the outer garment, and thus covered by the word *bahiryoga*. The earliest traditional explanation that has come down to us is found in the *Mahābhāṣya* which runs thus :

Vā. / *upasamvyānagrahaṇam anarthakam bahiryogena kṛtatvāt /*

Bhā. / *upasamvyānagrahaṇam anarthakam / kiṃ kāraṇam / bahir-  
yogena kṛtatvāt / bahiryoga ityeva siddham /*

Vā. / *na vā śāṭakayugādyartham /*

Bhā. / *na vā anarthakam / kiṃ kāraṇam / śāṭakayugādyartham tar-  
hidam vaktavyam / yatrātan na jñāyate kim antariyam kim  
uttariyam iti / atrāpi ya eṣa mānuṣyaḥ prekṣāpūrvakārī bha-  
voti nirjñātaṃ tasya bhavatīdam antariyam idam uttariyam  
iti /*

The Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana says that the mention of *upasamvyāna* in the rule is unnecessary for the purpose is served by *bahiryoga*. The reply is given in the second Vārttika : No, it is necessary for pairs of garment. The Bhāṣyakāra explains that in the case of two pieces of cloth, etc., it is not known which is the inner one and which the outer, and so it is necessary to mention *upasamvyāna* in the rule. The Bhāṣyakāra, however, rejects this view on the ground that a man who looks before and after before acting knows perfectly well which is the inner garment and which the outer one.

[What Kātyāyana probably means is that in the case of things like the parts of the body, etc., one is naturally and necessarily inner and the other outer. But in the case of pairs of garment, etc., when they are not worn, the one is not naturally and necessarily inner and connected with the other which is outer. So it is necessary to use the word *upasamvyāna* in the rule to bring cases like *antare śāṭakāḥ* under its purview.]



These concluding words of the Bhāṣyakāra led commentators from the Kāśikā downwards to explain *bahiryoga* as *bāhya*, i.e., external, lying outside. So *antara*, like other ambivalent words, comes to mean its exact opposite. It is the presence of the word *upasaṁvyāna* that has driven later commentators to this absurd situation.

In this short paper I am going to put forward, in all humility, what I think is a rational explanation of this rule of Pāṇini. I believe *bahiryoga* here means 'when the outer thing is mentioned'. Thus in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we find: *bāhye muñjā bhavantyantare śaṇāḥ*, 6. 6. 2. 16. In the case of the inner garment, however, *antara* is a pronoun, even though there be no mention of something external. *antara* is used without *bāhya* in cases like "deva-ratho vā eṣa yad yajñas tasyaivantarau raśmī yadājyapraūge," *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, chapter x. *antara* is used in connexion with *bāhya* in the following passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*:

*bāhyokhā bhavatyantare muñjāḥ / bāhyo hyātmāntarā yonih / bāhye muñjā bhavantyantare śaṇāḥ / bāhyā hi yonir antarā jarāyu / bāhye śaṇā bhavantyantaram ghṛtaṁ / bāhyaṁ hi jarāyvantaram ulbam / bāhyaṁ ghṛtaṁ bhavatyantarā samit / bāhyaṁ hyulbam antaro garbhaḥ / ŚB 6. 6. 2. 16.*

*tadvai yonih pariśritāḥ / ulbam ūṣā retāḥ śikatāḥ / bāhyāḥ pariśrito bhavantyantara ūṣāḥ / bāhyā hi yonir antaram ulbam / bāhya ūṣā bhavantyantaráḥ śikatāḥ / bāhyaṁ hyulbam antaram retāḥ / ŚB 7. 1. 1. 16.*

## A STUDY OF ACCENT IN RELATION TO THE ALPHA-PHONOID THEORY

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM, B. CHAITANYA DEVA AND  
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The experimental studies reported in this paper are a continuation, as all our studies have been, of the earlier theoretical work of the senior author in this direction.

It is observed elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that "the physiology of speech is such that a stressed syllable tends to have a higher pitch."

Oscillographic records were taken, (see below), to determine in a fairly quantitative manner the relationship that exists between the three variables: stress (intensity measured in terms of the amplitude), pitch (fundamental frequency) and duration (the total extent in time of any particular speech-sound).

It is a well-known fact that in the process of hearing (auditory perception), within limits, a change in intensity may be perceived as a change in pitch. Also, two stimuli may be perceived as of equal intensity although one of them has a higher intensity (but a lower duration) and the other has a lower intensity (but a longer duration), also within limits.<sup>2</sup>

The existence of such a difference limen in auditory perception provides food for thought in relation to the question of accent, (stress or pitch), in the process of speech.

1. Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, Contribution on the Study of Indo-European Accent, BDCRI, vol. 2, pp. 185-202.

2. It may be noted here that the difference limen of pitch perception of complex tone leads to the problem of 'interval' between two tones and transition between them. In regard to this question, the alpha-phoneme theory is of immense significance (Cf. B. CHAITANYA DEVA's review of *Saṅgītaratnākara*, BDCRI, vol. 15, in press.) [Cf. *infra* footnote 5].

This is the basis of the point of departure in P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM's investigations on a unified mathematics for the intermittent neurological processes and the continuous acoustic processes in the wake of the alpha-phonoid theory, wherein the period (i.e., the durational relationships) plays an important part in place of frequency.

We have also found the very same basis of departure in the illuminating work of Prof. Roindralal Roy, Philosophy of Music, Duration as Measure of Sensations, *The Journal of the Madras Music Academy*, vol. 23.



The experiments of BOUMAN and KUCHARSKI<sup>3</sup> indicate that for a vowel sound, to be perceived as a vowel, there is a lower limit for the *duration* and *intensity* of the formants (particularly for the intensity of the lower formant for any given *duration*). Thus, since there is a minimum duration for any given intensity, the value of the intensity has to be increased for a duration lower than this, in order that the vowel sound, within limits, may be perceived without any change in quality.

These are *auditory* criteria for the perception of a vowel with its quality.

Since articulation is always, in normal speech, monitored as it were, by the auditory process, the vowel-quality during articulation is determined by auditory criteria.<sup>4</sup> Thus, for any given intensity the durational relationship is "well agreed upon" between the articulatory and the auditory processes for any given vowel quality.<sup>5</sup>

3. BOUMAN and KUCHARSKI, *Syntheses de voyelles a moyen de deux sons simples*, ANPE, tome 4, pp. 90-111.

4. This amounts to a suggestion that speech is a purely neurological process forming a closed neural circuit within the individual, and that any motor-manifestation in the physiological system of the individual or in the acoustical medium *outside* is purely incidental, except from the point of view of inter-communication, even as, so far as the electrical circuit is concerned in ringing a bell, the presence of the metallic gong is purely incidental. (Cf. footnote 5 of our paper *Reversed Speech*, BDCRI, Vol. 14, in press; also C. R. Sankaran, Vol. 14, p. 39).

It is to be noted here that under 'imaginative abstraction' Sir Almroth Wazir brings auditory elements—*consonants* and *vowels*. (*Alethetropic Logic*, William Heinemann, London, 1953, p. 112).

From the point of view of this unified outlook synthesising modern mathematics with neurology, the profound significance of verses 8 and 9, 5th ch., Gita, can be reassessed (*The Message of the Gita* as interpreted by Sri. Aurobindo, ed. by Anilbaran Roy, London, G. Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1938, p. 85).

It has already been suggested that the articulatory level of experience can be equated with the *jāgrat* state (It may be noted that at that level we meet with the complicated nerve mechanism), and the acoustical level of experience can be equated with the *svapna* state (with an implication of a less restricted freedom, such as an apparent continuity as contrasted with the intermittence of neuronal processes) [Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, *Philosophical Analysis of the Alpha-Phoneme and the Alpha-Phonoid Theories*, BDCRI, vol. 14, p. 94, footnote].

The common origin of the acoustical-time and the articulatory-time is the alpha-phonoid which, therefore, typifies the state of unity of the two separate levels of experience, and can be equated with *supti*; even beyond this, is the non-temporal experience, the alpha-phoneme, which can be equated with the *turiya*. (Cf. also Appendix C, Note on the Four States of Consciousness, to Shri. Krishna PREM's *The Yoga of the Bhagavad Gita*, John M. Watkins, 3rd ed., London, 1951, pp. 200-202).

5. The difference between any two tones and transition between them leads to the problem of the 'interval' (or the 'interphenomenon') which is the bedrock of the alpha-phonoid theory. (Vide *supra* footnote 2).



Therefore, during normal speech, if the duration is unconsciously diminished, the intensity has to be correspondingly increased; or, if the intensity has been unconsciously decreased the duration has to be increased.

It is found from recorded wave-forms that the final vowel (in an open syllable) always tends to have a long duration in normal speech. Its intensity is thus less and it falls off gradually. Whereas, if the final vowel is terminated by a consonant, its duration is shortened and therefore, the intensity is maintained high for that duration. (But see below).

It is clear from the above discussion that pitch, stress and duration are all interdependent in normal speech. This suggests that *accent* may be looked upon as being of two main types:

- (1) the *phonetic accent*
- and (2) the *functional accent*.<sup>6</sup>

The *phonetic accent* is that which is directly related to the combination and sequence of occurrence of the phonemes (or phones) during any speech-process. The contribution of such an accent to any extra-phonetic 'context' is to be taken as *zero*.<sup>7</sup> Phonetically, the phonetic accent tends to bring about a condition for the maximum 'efficiency' in articulation. Verner's law chiefly deals with such an accent.

The *functional accent*, on the other hand, affects the extra-phonetic 'context', without any regard to the 'efficiency of articulation'.

The tendencies of the two 'types' of 'accent' are thus opposite in character. The one tends to bring about a phonetic simplification of the process of speech, while the other tends to emphasise the individuality of the speech-elements against the background of their extra-phonetic 'context'.

It must be noted, however, that a functional accent may degenerate into a purely phonetic accent or *vice versa*, depending upon the trend of the seman-

6. These two types of accents (particularly the functional type) may be further subdivided into:

- (1) predominantly stress-accent
- (2) predominantly pitch-accent
- and (3) predominantly durational-accent.

It is to be noted that the functional accentuation in a language like Tamil is of the predominantly durational type.

7. It is this phonetic accent that plays its part when we say that a person speaks with a 'foreign accent'. But, however, as this 'extra-phonetic' information regarding the speaker is in no way connected with the 'extra-phonetic' information contained in the actual messages conveyed, and as nothing is added to or subtracted from the messages, due to the 'foreign accent', our assumption of zero-contribution to the extra-phonetic 'context' is justified.



to-phonetic system.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps an explanation for the apparent exceptions to phonetic laws could be found in the relative importance of these two opposite tendencies.

Now we proceed to the actual experimental observations.

I. The oscillogram of the Marāṭhi word *puṣkəḷ* and the nonsense forms *puṣəḷ* and *pukəḷ* show the following feature.<sup>9</sup>

The pitch, intensity and duration apparently follow different laws of variation under different phonetic environments, although they are not entirely independent of one another. For example, the *u* in *pukəḷ* has the highest pitch and that in *puṣkəḷ* has a higher pitch than in *puṣəḷ*. The intensity of the *u* in *puṣkəḷ* is the highest. Then follows that of *pukəḷ* and then *puṣəḷ*. The durations of the *u* in the three forms when arranged in the descending order give: *puṣkəḷ* (86 msec.) *pukəḷ* (84 msec.) and *puṣəḷ* (80 msec.).

The experiments of BOUMAN and KUCHARSKI, in dealing with the inverse relationships of intensity and duration, have considered only the termination of a vowel by silence (i.e., a perfect consonant).<sup>10</sup>

But our observations suggest that any vowel terminated by anything other than a perfect consonant seems to bring about a situation that deviates from a strict inverse relationship in accordance with the manner of such a termination (that is, in accordance with the consonantal environment).<sup>11</sup>

In the case of the *u* in *puṣkəḷ*, the higher intensity and the longer duration seem to be phonetically necessary in the presence of the cluster *ṣk* which represents a particular manner of terminating the vowel, involving a process of greater complexity and greater rapidity than in the case of *pukəḷ* and *puṣəḷ*. Similarly the termination of *u* represented by *k* is of greater rapidity than that represented by *ṣ*.

Here it is of interest to note that the duration of *ṣk* is less than the sum of the separate durations of *ṣ* and *k*, i.e., the process of termination re-

8. Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, *Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variation*, JORM, vol. 9, pp. 307-318; also vol. 10, 1936, pp. 47-72. (See *infra* footnote 15).

9. A more detailed analysis of such features is being carried out by Shri. A. D. TASKAR for his dissertation. The data supplied regarding the accent in *puṣkəḷ* is from part of that work, for which the remaining authors of this paper are grateful to him.

10. Cf. P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM, *A Qualitative definition of the Perfect Vowel and the Perfect Consonant*, BDCRI, vol. 14, in press.

11. No authentic statement can thus be made for want of adequate data regarding the manner of terminating a vowel process and its relationship with the intensity and the duration, for the perception of the vowel without change of quality.



presented by *šk* is more rapid than the one resulting from a mere addition of the two separate processes *ś* and *k*.<sup>12</sup>

The exact relationship between intensity and duration remains thus open, suggesting further research on perception (without change of quality) when varied *manners* of terminating a vowel process are introduced under experimentally controlled conditions.

The higher pitch of *u* in *pukə* is a necessary consequence of the occurrence of a voiceless *k* immediately after it.<sup>13</sup>

II. It is also of further interest to note in general that any vowel, when it takes up a stress-accent (higher intensity) is accompanied by 'aspiration'.<sup>14</sup>

12. Cf. in this connection C. R. SANKARAN and S. SOUTHAJAN, *Physico-physiological Theory of Syllables in Human Speech*, BDCRI, vol. 6, p. 238, for a similar observation on *g*, *r* and *gr* in *gate*, *rate* and *great*.

13. Cf. in this connection, CHIU BIEN-MING, *The Tone Behaviour in Hagu: An Experimental Study*, ANPE, tome 6, pp. 6-45. In the forms *puškə*, *puə* and *pukə*, we find a good example of a compromise between phonetic and phonological (extra-phonetic) influences, conforming to the phonological system of Marāṭhi. Under the same environments, the *k* in *pukə* will get voiced together with a fall of pitch in *u* in a system like Tamil.

14. 'Aspiration', as employed here, signifies the physical process of high velocity air flow through any cross-sectional opening. Thus the 'articulation place' for 'aspiration' is not necessarily the glottis. A greater velocity of air across any cross-sectional opening is equivalent to a smaller velocity of air across a smaller cross-sectional opening, so far as 'aspiration' (intensity) is concerned. In many Indo-European (and Dravidian?) languages this aspiration is associated with one particular 'place of articulation'. But the syllabic series *ha*, *hi*, *fu*, *he* and *ho* in Japanese clearly points out that the 'place of articulation' for 'aspiration' may be near about the region of the lips and teeth, under which conditions the combination of *h* with the vowel *u*, necessarily gives *fu* instead of *hu*. Further, there is frequent alternation between *ha* and *wa*, and *he* and *ye*. All these suggest that the 'place of articulation' for the Japanese *h* is nearer the lip-teeth region than near the glottis. In general, therefore, for the production of 'aspiration' the only criteria necessary seem to be the velocity of air flow and the cross-sectional area of the opening at the place of articulation wherever it be. Under these conditions the aspirate could be 'voiced' or 'voiceless' (See Branco van DANTZIG, *Voiced or Voiceless?*, ANPE, tome 5, pp. 77-88). See also below for a discussion on *āhā*.

Cf. also in this connection, C. R. SANKARAN, IE GM-SKHÓ- or GM-SKŌ-?, *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 8, pp. 100 ff., for a discussion on the aspiration of the cluster *sk* when the following vowel is accented (The accent should be due to increase of intensity rather than change of pitch for such a phenomenon, in accordance with our present investigation).

An interesting simple experiment shows clearly the relationship between the fricative *s* and the non-glottal aspirate *h*, when we set up the tongue-position for *s* and with the same rate of air flow withdraw the tongue very minutely and without jerkiness. We eventually arrive at *h*. Thus, the cross-sectional opening for *s* is much smaller than that for *h*, the 'place of articulation' being the 'same'. (For a discussion about the 'place of articulation' see, P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM, *The Structure of Speech-Sounds*, BDCRI, vol. 15, in press).





Fig. 1. āhā (neutral)



Fig. 2. āhā (in anger)



Fig. 3. puṣṭi



Fig. 4. puṣṭi



Fig. 5. puṣṭi





The accompanying tables and the melody plot give our detailed observations of the utterance of *āhā* (in Telugu) under different emotional conditions (i.e., plain utterance and utterance in anger, respectively).

TABLE I

Subject: AVS			Text: a: h a:			
Emotion	Speech-sound	Duration in msec.	Pitch in cps	%	Wm (cps)	Md (cps)
Neutral	Initial a:	9	105.3	6.25	123	121
		8.5	117.7	25		
		8	125	56.25		
		7.5	133.5	12.5		
	Final a:	11	90.9	3.846	126.9	127
		10.5	95.23	3.846		
		10	100	3.846		
		9.5	105.3	7.692		
		8.5	117.7	7.692		
		8	125	15.384		
		7.5	133.3	30.768		
		7	142.9	26.922		
Anger	Initial a:	9.5	105.3	6.667	134.1	134
		8.5	117.7	13.334		
		8	125	13.334		
		7.5	133.3	13.334		
		7	142.9	46.669		
		6.5	153.8	6.667		
	Final a:	10.5	95.23	2.174	183.7	187.5
		9.5	105.3	2.174		
		8.5	117.7	4.348		
		7.5	133.5	4.348		
		7	142.9	6.522		
		6.5	153.8	6.522		
		6	166.6	13.044		
		5.5	181.8	6.522		
		5	200	23.914		
		4.5	222.2	30.436		

The column marked % denotes the number of times per cent a particular pitch occurs during the vowel process.

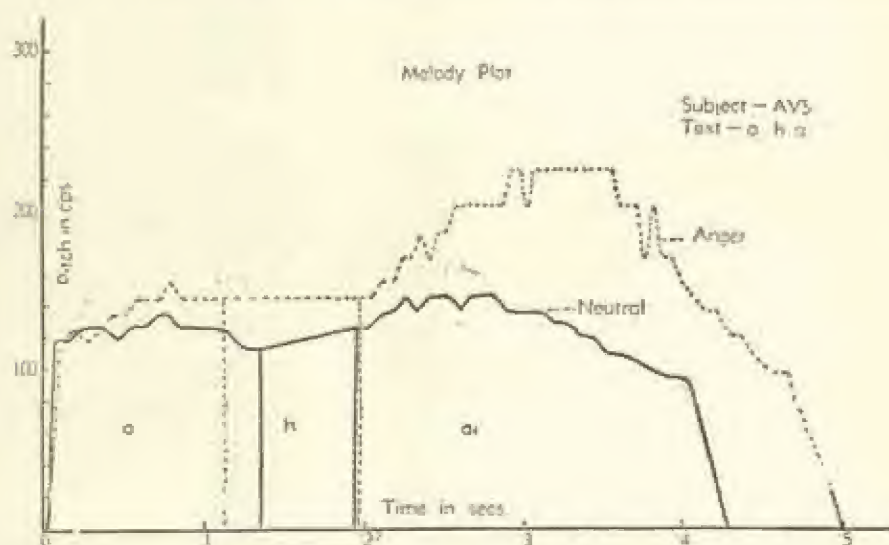
Wm is the weighted mean and Md is the median pitch computed graphically.

TABLE II

Emotion Speech-sound	Average pitch (cps)
Neutral Medial aspirate <i>h</i>	101
Anger	142

TABLE III

Speech-sound	Duration in Seconds	
	Neutral	Anger
Initial <i>a</i> :	0.135	0.113
Medial <i>h</i>	0.0595	0.084
Final <i>a</i> :	0.231	0.263
Total	0.4255	0.460



From the tables and the melody plot it is observed that:—

(1) The pitch and the duration of the initial vowel are less than those of the final vowel irrespective of the emotion.

(2) The medial aspirate is increased both in pitch and in duration; it is voiced in both cases but more so in emotion.



(3) the duration of the initial vowel, however, is shorter in emotion than in neutral utterance (This may be a compensation for the increase in the energy of the final vowel).

(4) The total duration of the whole utterance, however, is greater in anger than in neutral utterance,<sup>15</sup> and

(5) The pitch is raised for the whole utterance for anger; the rise is prominent for the final vowel. This means an accentuation of the terminal syllable in emotion.

In view of these findings we feel a necessity to modify Verner's law as follows:—

It is not to be taken merely as the neutralisation of the voice correlation after unstressed vowel phonemes.<sup>16</sup> But the law is to be interpreted to the effect that accentuation is not to be taken in the *absolute* sense. For, as we have noted above, the vowel following the aspirate (the final vowel) was seen to increase in pitch considerably in relation to the preceding aspirate and vowel, as it was found that the *whole utterance*<sup>17</sup> is raised in pitch in emotion as compared to the neutral speech.<sup>18</sup>

15. Our findings appear to confirm the validity of Pāṇini's sūtra 8, 1, 8.

For a discussion on this problem from the wider Indo-European point of view, see C. R. SANKARAN, *Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variation*, JORM, 1936, vol. 10, pp. 51-54. [See *supra* footnote 8].

16. Cf. K. VERNER, *Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung*, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, 1877, pp. 97-130; Cf. also B. TIESKA, *On the Phonological Development of Spirants in English*, *Proc. II Internat. Congr. of Phonetic Sciences*, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 60-61; also, C. R. SANKARAN, *BDCRI*, vol. 3, p. 393; for a discussion of Verner's law within the older empirical frame of reference, from a psychological point of view, see PANCONCELLI-CALZEA, *Die Experimentelle Phonetik*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 44-45.

Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 8, 1940-41, p. 110, footnote 48; also *Some Problems in Kannada Linguistics*, Research Lecture Series, No. 7, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, 1954, pp. 66-68.

Cf. also Otto JERPERSEN, *Verners Gesetz und das Wesen des Akzents*, *Linguistica*, 1933, pp. 229-248.

See also, C. D. CHRETIEN, *Indo-European final-<sup>a</sup> S in Germanic*, California, 1941. (*University of California Publications*, vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 1-10; and R. A. WILLIAMS, *The Phonetical Explanations of Verner's Law*, *Modern Language Review*, vol. 2, 1906-7, pp. 233-252.

Cf. too, O. JERPERSEN, *Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives in English*, *Linguistica*, pp. 346 ff.; see especially pp. 357 ff.

17. This is in strict consonance with the spirit of the alpha-phoneme and the alpha-phonoid theories, which stresses on structuralism in a deeper sense, i.e., relations and relations of relations (Cf. C. R. SANKARAN, and P. C. GANESHEUNDARAM, *Time and Speech-Structure*, *BDCRI*, vol. 12, p. 405 and footnote 23. cf. fn. 6 of our paper *Reversed Speech*, *BDCRI*, vol. 17, pp. 1-14; also C. R. SANKARAN, *BDCRI*, 14.).

18. We are indebted to Shri. S. M. SAWALE, the Laboratory Assistant, for the Technical Assistance he has so ably given in the course of our investigations.

CERTAIN VERB-COMPOUNDS OF SANSKRIT  
AND SOME PARALLEL FORMATIONS IN AWADHI

BY

BABURAM SAKSENA, Allahabad

The Siddhānta-Kaumudī lays down the following rule of *saṁāsa* which has a peculiar structure :—

*ākhyātam-ākhyātena kriyā-sātatyē* and it gives the following illustrations :

*aśnāta pibatetyevam satataṁ yatrābhidhiyate sā aśnātapibatā, pacatabhṛjjetā, khādatamodatā.* The compounded word in each of these illustrations is a noun in the feminine gender with the termination *ṭāp*. The two verbs compounded together are in the Imperative mood (2nd person pl.) and the continuity of the two actions is insisted upon. In *aśnāta-pibatā* the constant assertion is 'eat and drink'. Similarly we have 'cook and fry' and 'eat and enjoy'.

Another class of verbs similarly detailed but without constantness comes under the rule :—

*ehiḍādayo 'nyapadārthe*

and the illustrations are the following :—

*ehiḍa iti yasmin karmaṇi tadehiḍam, ehipecam, uddhara koṣṭhādutsrja dehīti yasyāṁ kriyāyām sā uddharotsṛjā, uddhamavidhamā. (asātiatyārtham-īha pāṭhaḥ).*

These verbs (1. come and worship, 2. come and cook, 3. take out from the store and give, 4. puff and blow) are similar to those enumerated in the earlier class; the commentary points out, however, that here constantness is not present. Two of these compounds are in the neuter gender and the remaining in the feminine gender again. The compounds under both these rules have been put under the *Tatpuruṣa Saṁāsa*.

Combination of two verbs in a compound is a curious and more or less unusual phenomenon for Sanskrit and it was not noticed by Pāṇini or Kātyā-



yana. I do not know if any middle Indo-Aryan parallel is available. In New Indo-Aryan (Awadhī) I have noticed the following forms:

<i>āwā-jāhī</i>	coming and going
<i>uṭhā-baiṭhī</i>	rising and sitting
<i>uṭhāvā-dharī</i>	lifting and placing
<i>kahā-sunī</i>	saying and hearing
<i>khāwā-pī</i>	eating and drinking
<i>khēlā-kūdi</i>	playing and frolicking
<i>girā-parī</i>	falling and lying
<i>dēkhā-sunī</i>	seeing and hearing
<i>dēwā-lēī</i>	giving and taking
<i>(lēwā-dēī</i>	taking and giving)
<i>nahāwā-dhōī</i>	bathing and washing
<i>baṛhā-caṛhī</i>	growing and climbing
<i>bōlā-cālī</i>	talking and moving
<i>mārā-kāṛī</i>	killing and cutting
<i>rōwā-pīṛī</i>	weeping and beating
<i>likhā-paṛhī</i>	writing and reading
<i>lukā-chipī</i>	concealing and hiding
<i>sōwā-nindī</i>	sleeping and dozing

All these are in the feminine gender and the two compounded verbs taken separately have no independent existence. Unlike these in standard Hindi

*daur-bhāg* and *bōl-cāl*.

two similar compounds exist, but each of these contains two verbal nouns capable of independent use separately. In the Awadhī compounds mentioned above, however, the two compounded words have a combined individuality—independently they do not give any signification. The first part appears to be the perfect participle (masc. sg.) but in *dēwā-lēī* and *lēwā-dēī* the first part is not that (the perf. part. masc. sg. forms being *dihā* and *lihā*). Similarly the second part appears to be the perfect participle (fem. sg.) but in *āwā-jāhī*, *dēwā-lēī* and *lēwā-dēī* it is not so (the correct forms being *-gai*, *-lihī* and *-dihī*). From these facts it is clear that the compounded words in the above-mentioned forms of Awadhī are peculiar.

Like corresponding forms of Sanskrit the Awadhī ones also are in the feminine gender. Similarly the constantness or continuity of the action (one or the other going on alternately) is found in the Awadhī forms also.

I hope on investigation parallel formations may be discovered in other New Indo-Aryan languages.

## LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

BY

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"What is the nature of that language which is used by literature for its peculiar purpose?" To answer this question, we have to answer another question, viz. "What is literature?" The Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th Edition, hesitatingly defines literature as "the best expression of the best thought of a people". To this definition it may be objected that "best" herein is too vague: what may be "best" for one person may be "mediocre" or "worthless" for another person. Moreover, the term "expression" here is too indeterminate. In what form should this "expression" be? Possibly this definition may be improved as follows:—"Literature is that language which more or less aesthetically represents aesthetic concepts". This definition considerably corresponds to the one given by Jagannātha in his famous work the *Rasagaṅgādhara* "literature is language presenting pleasant concepts" (*raṁaṇīyārtha-pratipāḍakaḥ śabdaḥ kāvyaṁ*, (I. 1). At any rate, all literature is language, though all language is not literature.

Coming now to our first question, we shall find that the language of literature is connotative, while the language of science is denotative. "Fire" in literature stands sometimes for "anger", sometimes for "grief" and sometimes for "love". But in science one word should represent only one concept. A remarkable consequence of this distinction is that literature's situation is more lucky: it can manage with fewer words. The innumerable variations of scientific phenomena are everyday indicating that language is a miserably poor instrument for presenting these variations. For instance, experts in Zoology tell us that a type of one beetle alone has 1,95,000 varieties! In such cases only mathematical symbolologies can come to the rescue of science, and it is even being proposed in scientific circles that language proper should be entirely discarded for scientific purposes, and mathematical symbols should be used instead, in order to guarantee accuracy. On the other hand, the luckier situation of literature is counterpoised by a colossal disadvantage. There is no doubt that ancient Indian literary authorities, who had acutely discerned in *dhvani* this connotation as the distinctive feature of literature, belauded it to the skies. But it has let loose equally unmanageable complexities, all the more difficult to be specified and classified, owing to innumerable associations in which these connotations are likely to occur. The limitations of the language of literature have therefore to be taken into account.



But there is another side of the picture as well, and very interesting too. While language is an instrument of literature, literature also often serves as an instrument of language. Some notable characteristics of literature in language may be described here :—

1. "Screen". The first characteristic, which may be termed a "screen" or a cloak for avoiding unpleasantness may be noticed in expressions like "to breathe one's last" being a substitute for "to die". Similarly, while many Indian languages have plain and direct words signifying "answering the call of nature", they are rarely used in actual parlance: in Panjabi, the usual terms used mean "going outside" (*bāhr jānā*), "going to the jungle" (*jaṅgal jānā*). In English, besides "toilet" and "ease oneself", "convenience" has also been used in this sense.

2. Euphemism. Closely allied to the above phenomenon is Euphemism, which consists in pleasant presentation of unpleasant phenomena, e.g., for "death" Hindi and Panjabi often use words which literally mean "habitation in paradise" (*svarg-vās* and *surg-vās* respectively). In colloquial Hindi someone's falling ill is called "enemy's falling ill" (*dushman bīmār ho gae*)

3. Polite terminologies. The terminologies of politeness are most remarkable in the Urdu of Lucknow and Delhi. A gentleman's coming is called "bringing of greatness" (*tashrīf lānā*); to inquire about a stranger's "residence", one has to ask about his "rich house" (*daulatkhānā*), while the speaker's own house has to be a "poor house" (*gharībkhānā*). A brother is to be referred to as "brother-life" *bhāījān*. In Tamil, a bridegroom is called by a name which etymologically means "fragrance-boy" (*maṇa-magaṇ*), for a transferred meaning of the word for "fragrance" (*maṇam*) is marriage in Tamil. All such terms are fossilized literature, and a lexicon of the fossilized literature in a language may be desideratum some day.

4. Idioms. The flexibility of connotations, so characteristic of the language of literature, could be best illustrated in idioms, in which metaphors and associations, coupled with historical contexts often bring about meanings which often could be hardly expected.

The following trends of idioms may be of particular interest:—

(a) Idioms based on some metaphor. For instance, for hair-splitting, Hindi has an idiom which literally means "to flay a hair" (*bāl kī khāl nikālṇā*). The metaphor here is based on a double comparison, first to a hair, and then to the flaying of an animal.

An amazing idiom in many Indian languages, which is now no longer felt as an idiom, is the expression for coquettary, which is Hindi *nakhrā* (*karnā*), Bengali *nokhrā*, Bengali (Bīrbhūm dialect) *Ḍokhrā*. Now *nakhrā*

was originally an Arabic word, which meant "a strong breathing through the nostrils by a camel". In Arabic coquetry was never the meaning of *nakhrā*. This sense turned up only in Persian and Indian language, and the historical circumstances which led to this semantic change were so torturing to the present writer that it took him three months' correspondence with various people, but to no consequence. Perhaps the metaphor is based on some annoyance felt by the originator of the idiom, who compared the phenomenon to the camel's breathing.

(b) Idioms based on some historical associations which are a subject for future investigation, e.g., "to shut the door" is expressed by Panjabi through an expression which literally means "to strike the door" (*būha mārṇā*). Perhaps the original structure of the Panjabi door required a striking for shutting it. In Dogrī, however, the corresponding idiom literally means "to give the door" (*bhitt deṇā*). The origin of this is equally obscure.

#### Conclusion:

The above study, it may be hoped, has given us the following results:—

- (1) Language and literature are closely related.
- (2) Language is fundamentally an instrument of literature.
- (3) But literature is also embedded in many vocables of a language and a systematic investigation of literary relics in language is an important desideratum.



## A NOTE ON THE MORPHEMIC VALUES OF CONSONANTS IN TAMIL\*

BY

P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM, *Poona*

It is a matter of common knowledge that the main tenses of verbs in Tamil are changed by the play of non-syllabic units (which are, of course, usually consonants). Thus, for example, we have :

*pō-ṇ-āṇ* 'he went' (past tense denoted by -ṇ-)

*pō-v-āṇ* 'he will go' (future, denoted by -v-)

Although in the literary form of the language we have *pō-kir-āṇ* (with a syllabic group -kir-) to denote the present tense, we have a non-syllabic -ṛ- in the colloquial form of the language, as is found in *pō-ṛ-āṇ* 'he goes'.

These and other such non-syllabic morphemes are everyday examples of the language.

There are, however, less known non-syllabic (and other) morphemes which may be compared with the group of phonemes *gr-p(b)* in such mono-syllabic English words as *grasp, grab, grip, grope*, etc., wherein the group of phonemes (*gr-p(b)*) are in some way representative of tactile functions. There are other such groups in English like *cl-* in *clatter, clap, click*, etc.

In Tamil, perhaps because the precise function of such morphemes has been forgotten (or rather has never been known), there is an unfortunate confusion in the employment of words (a greater part of which are verbs and their derivations) in the present day usage both in literary and colloquial Tamil. Only a small minority of the present day writers are highly well read scholars who can employ their words with any degree of 'precision' and 'force'. (In fact the 'forcefulness' of a word depends to a large extent on the 'precision' with which it is selected for use).

Although questions on how the present day Tamil writing could be improved with regard to precision of expression are not apparently quite relevant in this small note on morphemes, a passing reference to such questions could not be avoided particularly because the lack of precision in expres-

\* Communicated by Prof. C. R. SANKARAN under whose inspiration and guidance these studies are carried out.

sion is largely due to a lack of understanding of the significance of many morphemes which have not been studied so far.<sup>1</sup>

In this note, only a few morphemes are going to be dealt with. It is hoped, fuller investigations could be carried out on the lines suggested in this note with greater thoroughness.

The non-syllabic morphemes and other base-morphemes of Tamil are not immediately apparent. They are often very obscure and appear to evade analysis.

There are primitive forms of verbs which seem to be elementary morphemes in themselves. For example, *aḷi* 'destroy', *muri* 'bend, break', *kari* 'char', etc., all of which are transitive verbs. Derived from these are *aḷuku* 'decay', *muṟuku* 'get twisted', *karuku* 'get charred or scorched', etc., where *-ku* denotes the change of state on the subject of the verb. The original verbs are turned into intransitive verbs and sometimes their meaning is slightly changed as in *aḷuku*. The morpheme in question is *-k*, the final *-u* in *-ku* being purely phonetic since no Tamil word can end in a stop consonant.

A similar morpheme *-ṅk*, perhaps a morpheme alternant in complementary distribution with *-k*, occurs in words like *cuḷuṅku* 'get folded up', *muṟuṅku* (?) 'get twisted', *kalaṅku* 'get stirred up', etc., of which the primitive forms are respectively *cuḷi* (?) (or *cuḷi* ?) 'fold up, whirl', *muri* 'bend, break', *kala* 'mix, stir'.

The difference between *muṟuku* and *muṟuṅku* is that the former has acquired a specialised meaning of 'get well tightened, roasted', etc., in addition to its original significance 'get twisted'. Further, for verbs of this morpheme *-k*, the agent of the action is generally not the subject, whereas for verbs with *-ṅk*, the agent is generally also the subject.<sup>2</sup>

There are morpheme oppositions between *-k*, *-ṅk* on the one hand and *-kk* on the other. *-kk* converts the intransitive verbs in *-k* or *-ṅk* into transitive verbs. But verbs in *-kk* can be used as noun, whereas verbs in *-ṅk*, transitive or intransitive are never used as nouns.

1. A systematic study of such morphemes and other morpho-phonemic and syntactic functions of the Tamil language, together with the formation of a Tamil Academy on an improved model of the Académie Française will perhaps pave the way for a richer Tamil of precise expressions.

Cf. in this connection, C. R. SANKARAN, Paget's Gesture Theory of the Origin of Human Speech, *JBORI*, 21, 229-247.

2. There are however other verbs in *-k*, *-ṅk*, etc.; but these endings should be considered as different morphemes which are homophonous with the foregoing.



The foregoing are all suffix morphemes and they are at least fairly obvious to any analyst. But there are base-morphemes which are more difficult to identify. It may be noted that Tamil does not seem to have any prefixes. That is, if *b* is a base, then all the morphemes forming a chain with it can only be suffixed to it and never prefixed. In Indo-European, the base may be denoted as *-b-*, capable of taking prefixes and suffixes, but in Tamil the base is often to be denoted as *b-* (i.e., capable of taking suffixes only).

Verbs like *piṭi*, *piri*, *picai*, *piṇai*, *pili*, *piy*, *piṇṇu*, nouns like *piṭṭu* and even, by extension, verbs like *piḷai*, *pitukku* (< *piti* ?), *picaku* and nouns like *picaku* and *piḷai* are all unit morphemes on the surface. They have, however, a common element *pi-*, which seems to denote anything done primarily by the hand or the fingers (something corresponding to the English *gr-p(b)*).

We have further a series of verbs like *kiḷḷu*, *kiṇukku*, *kili*, *kīru*, *kiṇṇu*, *kiḷukku* (cf. *kulukku*) and nouns like *kiccu-kiccu*, etc., which have a common element *ki-* that is associated with action done by the ends of the fingers or with the nails.

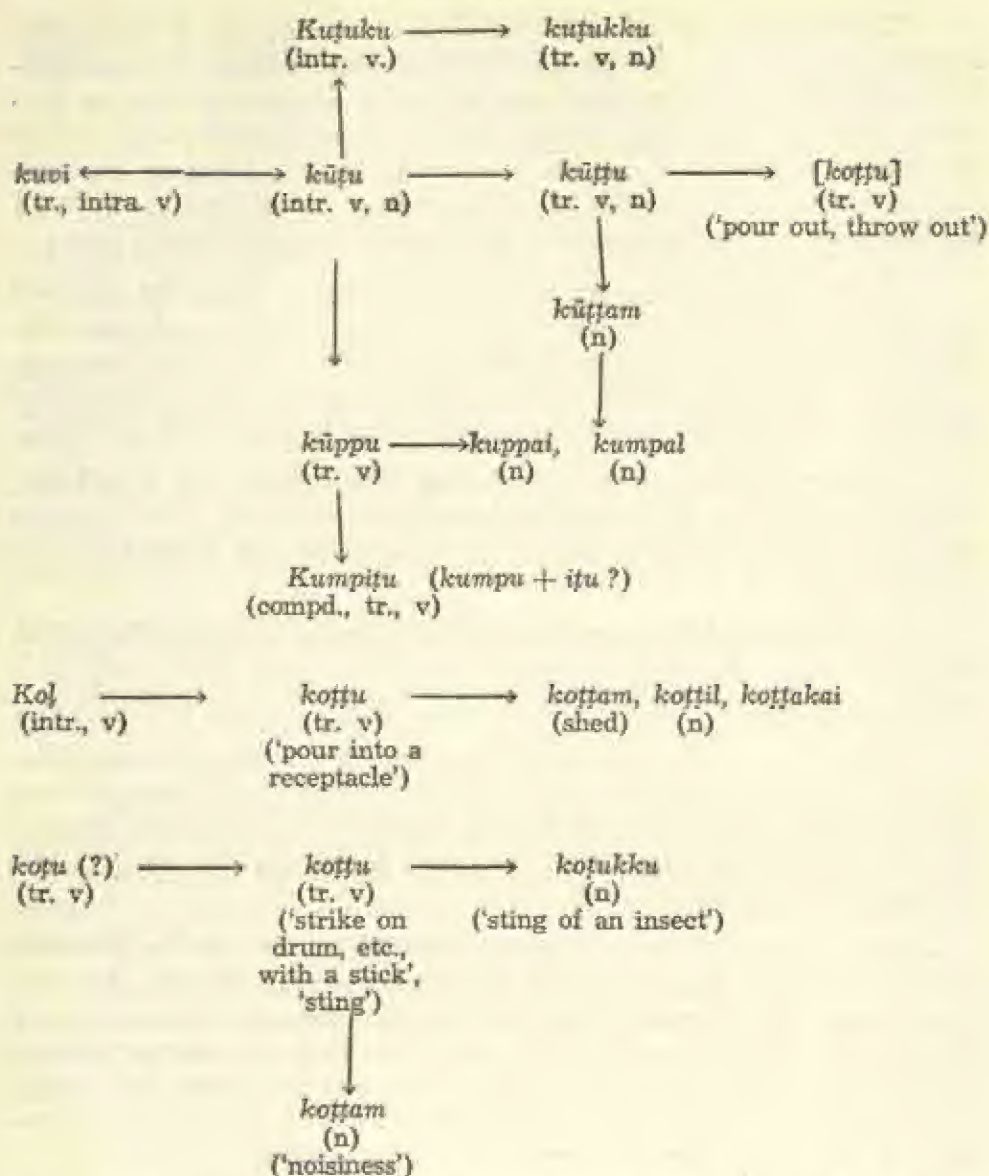
But as against *kiḷukku* we have *kulukku* having an element *ku-* which denotes an action done with the hand or the whole arm. Other words of a similar significance are *kuttu*, *kuṭai*, (*kūppu*, *kūppiṭu* ?), *kuli*, (*kūṭṭu* ?), etc.

Even absence of a consonantal beginning (that is, the occurrence of a zero-consonantal morpheme), seems to have a special significance in that there is a whole series of words of such beginning denoting action done by the whole body or by any whole object such as *iru*, *eḷu*, *ōṭu*, *aṭu*, *āṭu*, *ēṭu*, *uṭkāru*, *uraṇku*, *iraṇku*, *ūru*, etc.

Such analysis however, should be carried out only on the primitive forms to establish the significance of base-morphemes like *pi-*, *ki-*, *ku-*, (*zero-*), etc. The determination of the primitive forms itself seems to be a difficult task. Such primitive forms and particularly the base-morphemes associated with them, as it were, prefer to remain in the background, having, so to say, direct contact with the subconscious mind of the speaker and nothing to do with the conscious endeavour of the analyst.

In conclusion, a single example of connected forms associated with a primitive form and its alternative base-morphemes is given below as a sample, in the wake of which further work can be done with a more perfected technique of analysis.

The primitive form considered is *kūṭu* and is compared and contrasted with other primitive forms like *kuvi*, *koṭ* and *koṭu*,



From the scheme of related forms around the primitive forms *kūṭu*, *kōḷ*, *koṭū*, we find that there are three homophonous derivations, all of which have the form *koṭṭu*.

Their associated primitive forms being different their significations are also different. In normal speech, to bring out the difference, the *koṭṭu* of *kōḷ*, invariably occurs as a compound verb *koṭṭi vai* 'store it in' and the



*koṭṭu* or *koṭu* (?) invariably occurs with a preceding noun denoting the agent or object of the action, *mattaḷam koṭṭu* 'beat a drum', *tēḷ koṭṭina* (*tiruṭan*) 'a thief stung by a scorpion'.

Perhaps the form *koṭṭu* from *koṭu* (?) 'give' means 'give with a vengeance'. Quite a parallel situation is found for the colloquial form of *koṭu*, viz., *kuṭu* 'give' from which we get *kuṭṭu* ('give with a vengeance' (?)) 'strike with the knuckle'.

The primitive form *koḷ* 'to be accommodated' gives rise to the nouns *koṭṭam*, *koṭṭakai*, etc., which signify a place that 'accommodates', persons, animals, etc. Again *koṭṭam* (< *koḷ*) is to be distinguished from *koṭṭam* (< *koṭṭu* < *koṭu*) 'noisiness'.

However, it must be noted that there are innumerable homophonous morphemes which can be properly classified only with reference to other morphemes occurring in conjunction with them. For example, the *ku-* in *kuttu* and the *ku-* in *kuṭṭu* cannot be dealt with separately. *ku-* denotes an action done by the hand and *-tt-* denotes a heavy intense action (cf. *mottu*), whereas *-ṭṭ-* denotes a sharp, quick action (particularly with the harder portions of the hand or in such a way as to produce a sharper sound), (cf. *veṭṭu*, *koṭṭu*, *taṭṭu*, *muṭṭu*, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

More serious investigations on these lines, however, cannot be adequately undertaken unless a thorough survey of the morpheme material is carefully carried out and a suitable methodology developed, taking even remote dialects into account.

This note is only written with a view to put forward the suggestion.

3. Some of these base-morphemes, etc., may be considered as being in some way similar to the Chinese and Japanese numeral classifiers. These classifiers denote the general shapes or classes of the objects which are talked about. In Tamil perhaps such classifiers are ingrained in the bases themselves. It is not unlikely that other languages which have preserved their identity through the ages (as is remarkably the case with Tamil) may show similar ingrained classifier morphemes.

## A GENERAL NOTE ON THE ANDAMANESE LANGUAGES

BY

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[In January-March, 1951, and again in January-March, 1952, the writer was sent by the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, to the Andamans to study the languages of the Andamanese. He studied the languages of the friendly aboriginals of Great Andaman and Little Andaman on these two occasions. Two of his articles are being published in the Departmental Bulletin under the headings, "A Linguistic Introduction to the Andamanese" and "A Linguistic Note on the Onges of Little Andaman"].

### 1. *Introduction—the people :*

The Andamanese, the aboriginals of the Isles of Andaman, belong to a rare specimen of human race, called the Negrito, characterised by their dark complexion, short stature and wooly hair of "peppercorn type." Steatopygia, is one of their remarkable physical features, especially of the women.

From days unknown, they were the only inhabitants of the Andamans, until in 1788, the British troops occupied a portion of the Isles. In 1858, when the penal settlement was established, those in Great Andaman only were 3,400 in number, but in 1951 these people have dwindled into a number of 25 in all. The causes are more than one, but the chief cause is the influence of a superior culture.

Besides these ill-fated Great Andamanese, there live in Great Andaman a hostile tribe known as the Jārawas. Another hostile tribe live in the North Sentinel Island. These people are till now inaccessible for even census not to speak of any study.

In Little Andaman there is a friendly race known as the Ōnges, who have not yet been the victims of the doom of destiny under the overwhelming enticement of the superior culture with which they are gradually coming in contact. They are probably 200, still vigorous and virile.

### 2. *The Study of the Languages :*

The study of the friendly people of Great Andaman has only been adequately done so far by some of the British officers the most notable of whom are R. C. TEMPLE, E. H. MAN, and M. V. PORTMAN. A few scientists like VON EICKSTEDT, A. R. BROWN, and JULES BLOCH also undertook the study of the Andamanese, the racial, cultural and linguistic study, as far as it was possible for them. The last scholar based his linguistic analysis on the basis of the materials collected by MAN in his "Dictionary."



R. C. TEMPLE wanted to publish a Dictionary of the Great Andamanese language but his work was not completed. A. J. ELLIS contributed a valuable note on the languages, in MAN's book *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*. MAN's *Dictionary of the South Andaman Language* and PORTMAN's *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes* (NLSA) are, however, the most glorious attempts to record systematically and analyse the language of the Southern Great Andamanese with all its dialectal varieties.

When the British scholars studied the Great Andamanese language, the speakers were numerous and there were ten clear dialects which were grouped into two: the Northern or "Yerewa" or "Jeru" and the Southern or "Bojigniji" or "Bēa". The five of the former group from north to south were "Cāri", "Korā", "Bā", "Jeru" and "Kede" and the five of the latter were "Juwoi", "Kōl", "Puchikwar" or "Bojigyāb", "Bālawā" or "Ākar-Bāle" and "Bēa" or "Āka-Bēa-da". But at present among the Great Andamanese, the southern group is almost extinct,—there being only one Puchikwar man now, aged about sixty. The majority of the Great Andamanese speak the "Jeru" dialect with possible mixture of "Cāri" and the dialects of the Northern group, which has been recognised by one and all of them as the standard dialect. BROWN has given some illustrations of this language by referring to this as North Andamanese Language. PORTMAN's *A Manual of the Andamanese Language* (MAL) gives some illustrations of the "Cāri" dialect, some of which resemble the specimens of the standard dialect collected by the present writer. The thorough works of MAN and PORTMAN on the Southern group of the Great Andamanese language are thus of little purpose in the modern days except in so far as they point out the salient characteristics of the Andamanese language in general.

The Ōnges of Little Andaman who were not very friendly to the cultured people were successfully tackled first by PORTMAN, but his study of the language of these people could not, as a natural consequence, be very adequate. He has given a few synonyms of the Ōnge language in MAL. A. R. BROWN has also recorded some characteristics of the Ōnge Language in Appendix B of his work—*The Andaman and Nicobar Islands* (ANI). The Anthropology Department of the Government of India started the study of the people only a few years back and the linguistic study was done only by the present writer.

Although the Jārawas of Great Andaman are even now hostile, attempts have been made from time to time to study their languages by capturing a few of them. R. H. COLEBROOK published a few words in *Asiatick Researches* in 1795 under the head "On the Andaman Islands." These were declared later as the Jārawa words, but many of them are found to have been



collected through mistaken notions. It is known from a pamphlet published by Mr. CHENGAPPA, a Forest Officer of the Andamans, under the title "Note on the Jarawa language" (NJL) that in September, 1938, the police picket captured one Jāwara woman and four children. From the Jārawa children a lady officer of the Hospital and the wives of two officers collected a vocabulary and also made some linguistic note. The work has a special merit of its own, but the absence of diacritical marks has minimised its worth. (The Jārawa woman, it is learnt, died very shortly and the children were sent to the Nicobar Island where they have absolutely forgotten their own language.)

### 3. The General Views :

The Andamanese languages could not be connected with any recognised family of speech. But so far as their syntactical traits are concerned, they are agglutinative, making free use of prefix, infix and suffix. (GIERSON'S *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, p. 192). From the subsequent discussions of the use of prefixes, suffixes, etc. in Andamanese languages it will be clear that the agglutination in these languages is not so perfect as that in Turki or Magyar. On the contrary there are many points in which process of agglutination in these languages remains unaccountable.

Of the Andamanese languages, the Great Andamanese group has been found to be rather remotely connected with the language of the Ōnges of Little Andaman. The latter have a closer relation with the language of the Jārawas of Great Andaman. In the "Exploration and Survey of the Little Andamans" published in the "*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*," PORTMAN held, "On the North Sentinel Island, On Rutland Island and in the jungles, South and West of Port Blair, tribes of Andamanese exist who, at war with all mankind, are supposed, from the similitude of their weapons and utensils, to be offshoots of the Little Andaman tribes" (p. 2). PORTMAN made a thorough study of the intertribal relations of the different Andamanese peoples, of their weapons, canoes, ornaments and utensils and also of their languages in his "Notes on the Andamanese" (J.A.I. May, 1896) and divided them into three groups, the North Andamanese, the South Andamanese and the Little Andamanese. In this connection he observed "The Jārawa tribes of South Andaman and Rutland Island differ from the Ōnges in that they have very long and thick bows, do not make canoes and have a language of their own. Still I have no doubt that they were originally of the same tribe and had become separate at some very distant period (pp. 362-3). In the "Note on the Jarawa Language" it has been remarked, "yet the language is so different from that of the Little Andaman Ōnges that when the latter were brought to see the Jarawas, they were quite incapable of speaking to each other." But from this fact, the close relation of the two languages cannot be denied. Apart from some cultural affinity between these two tribes we find some words of these two languages closely resembling each



other. Several human body parts have somewhat common names in the two languages, e.g. 'finger' is "ono-me" in Ōnge and "ano-ma" in Jārawa, 'knee' is "ono-lage" in Ōnge and "ano-laga" in Jārawa. 'Small animals' in the Jārawa language are named "wo-ma"; the Ōnges call the 'dogs' "weme". 'Path' in Ōnge is "icchele", the Jārawas call it "ichala". Then, 'to sleep', 'to get up from sleep', 'to die', 'to cry', 'to walk', 'to finish',—all these verbs have the following Jārawa and Ōnge synonyms: "-omo": "omō-kā-be", "-oti": "ote-be", "be-chame-bu": "bei-cām-be", "wana": "wānai", "buje": "bujiyebe", "hi-pu-hi-bah": "āqi-bo-ki-be". These similarities cannot be called accidental, nor the words of one language be called the loan from the other. The detailed studies of the two languages only will enable one to show definitely their close relation.

"Jārawa" is the name given by the Āka-Bêa-da speakers of the Great Andamanese. The Jārawas call themselves "ya-eng-gna" as learnt from *NJL*. About the introductory prefix the Jārawas are found to be more particular than the Ōnges. Without this prefix "ya-", the name is very similar to that given by the Ōnges to themselves, viz. "én-ñe."

Regarding the general concepts of the Andamanese in the making of language, it has been held by all scholars that they show as much backwardness as they have in their culture. PORTMAN in his *NLSA* has observed, "As regards the want of their daily lives, and the different phases of the articles which are connected with these wants, the languages are very copious and there are phrases to express the different times of the day and night, different periods of time (though these are very vague) and the state of the tide" (p. 33). MAN has given a list of Great Andamanese names which a man and a woman used to be given as they advanced in age and crossed the different stages from childhood to old age (viz. a boy, an unmarried young man, a married young man, a prospective father, a father, a widower etc. etc.) At the present days, however, they are not particular about such namings. PORTMAN mentions a few words in the Āka-Bêa-da language for the different stages of a fruit from its formation to rottenness. (*NLSA*, p. 32).

As the Andamanese have a number of special terms for petty details of concrete ideas like the above instances, they have conversely very few abstract expressions. The present writer in his "A Linguistic Introduction to the Andamanese" (*LIA*) has shown how the North Andamanese standard language has no different words for a good man, a good-looking man, a skilful man etc. This view holds good for the Ōnge language as well.

The Andamanese have no conception of numerical figures. They cannot count. They have, however, some words for denoting 'very few' or 'very little' to 'numerous' or 'abundant.' Similarly, instead of the ordinals they have terms for denoting the 'foremost' to the 'hindermost.' This has

been noted by different scholars and found to be true in case of the present North Andamanese standard language and Önge language.

#### 4. The Sound System :

The chief vowel sounds in all the Andamanese Languages are :

		Front		Central		Back
High	close	i		u		
Mid	close	e				o
	open		e			
Low	close		ä	o		
	open			a		

Some other central sounds (ö, ɛ) are also found in the languages especially in Little Andamanese. Diphthongs and even triphthongs are found. Semi-vowel "y" is very frequent as glide. Euphonic insertions of vowels and consonants are very regularly noticed in all the Andamanese phonetic system.

The plosive consonants are bilabial, dental, alveolar and guttural. In North Andamanese standard language the alveolar plosives are of further back origin. In the *NLSA*, PORTMAN has shown that some dialects of the South Andaman group have this pronunciation as clearly "lingual". The Önges, however, articulate this series distinctly in the alveolar region. The guttural plosives are sometimes produced very laxly, like fricatives. This has been noted by PORTMAN also in *NLSA*. Among the Önges was observed a regular labio-guttural variety of these plosive series. The voiced aspirate sounds are absent in Andamanese phonology. The affricates are clearly palatal. This affricate and the plosive series have each a nasal, and the guttural and palatal nasals are very important inasmuch as they are equally used in the initial position as other nasals. The lateral sound "l" and rolled sound "r" are present with many variants in the different dialects of the Great Andamanese and the Önge language. MAN and some others emphatically noted the absence of the sibilant sounds in the Great Andamanese language. The present writer, intent to verify this view, however, noticed the sibilant sounds clearly articulated by the North Andamanese which might have, in reality, been derived from the palatal affricate, "ñāšiyubi" = 'who are you' (Jeru). PORTMAN also showed *NLSA* that "s", "š" might have been difficult sounds to the Bēa-speaking people but among the Puchikwar speakers, it was quite natural. The Önges, however, are unfamiliar with the sounds and even foreign words with sibilant sounds could not be properly articulated by them, the sibilant being replaced by the affricate. Con-junct consonants are seldom found except with nasals.



Accent is predominantly 'stress'. Vowels which bear the strong accent are generally long and in many cases the strong accent syncopates the following syllables.

A peculiar sentence-intonation starting from the 'mid' to the 'high' and ending with a 'low' pitch, characterises the Andamanese Language, but 'tone' does not play a part in the change of meaning of words.

#### 5. *Roots and Formative Affixes:*

In the Andamanese languages, which are agglutinative in structure, the words are formed of roots and prefixes, suffixes, infixes.

The roots which may be of one or more syllables are either verbal or substantival. Originally all the roots might have been monosyllabic and with the loss of distinctive sense of some affixes attached to them, the polysyllabic roots have come into being.

All the affixes can at first be distinguished into two—functional and neutral. Functional affixes are very important and play considerable part in the changes of meaning and various syntactical functions. The neutral affixes are less important and are generally used as conventional.

##### (a) *Prefixes:*

The functional prefixes can be divided into two groups—(i) modificatory, and (ii) classificatory. The modificatory prefixes, besides qualifying the roots to which they are attached, sometimes emphasise or intensify their meanings. The classificatory prefixes, however, form a striking characteristic of the Andamanese languages. These have been called 'generic prefixes' in *LIA*. They are mostly used to distinguish the human beings,—their limbs, objects and relationship.

The most notable are the prefixes added to substantival roots to indicate the various parts of the human body. The Jeru or North Andamanese Standard language groups together mouth, throat, tongue, breath, belly, all of which take the prefix "thā"; head, lips, shoulder, eyes, nose, teeth, face, cheek, forehead all take "ther"; hand, elbow, forearm, leg, thigh, knee, waist, skin, bone, vein have the prefix "the"; palm, finger, foot, toe, wrist, heel have "thon"; back takes "hot" and navel, "hi". Leaving aside the common element "th-" in all the above prefixes "-ā-, -er-, -ē-, -on-, -ot-, and -i-" are found to categorise the different parts of the body. Jules Bloch, in the course of his linguistic analysis of the Bea dialect, ("Préfixes et suffixes en Andaman"—in "Bulletin de La Société de Linguistique de Paris" No. 130 (1949), Paris) tried to find out a principle in such categorisations, "Tout ce qui concerne la bouche par exemple a même préfixe..." (pp. 4-5). But there is no common principle because the Ōnge and Jārawa categorisations are found to be different. The Ōnges have "ono-" attached to head,



hair, neck, skull, spine, finger, fist, wrist, "enā-" to mouth, lip, tongue, tooth, chest, belly, buttock, "eni-" to chin, cheek, elbow, foreleg, calf, thigh, "enei-" to eye, eyelashes, brow, forehead and "enu-" to leg, foot, toe, ankle. The Jārawas have grouped knee, foot, nail, forearm, finger, cheek, head, hair and the prefix in these cases is "ano-"; in the group of eye, eyebrow (= eyelashes?), ear, chin, beard, armpit, back, backbone, bone, buttock, thigh, calf, the prefix is "ani-"; and the group of teeth, chest, collarbone, neck, elbow, hand, stomach takes the prefix "ana-". These prefixes, although varying in dialects of the different Andamanese languages can however, be called a regular feature. Thus sometimes the prefixes alone without the names of the parts of the body, serve the purpose. In the words of JULES BLOCH, "...les préfixes sont en réalité des premiers termes de composés, designant avec précision une région du corps humain. En effet, avec les pronoms possessifs le préfixe peut suffire à indiquer la partie du corps, sans que le nom en soit donné; ainsi *môtot pîj* pour *môtot chêta pîj* les poils (cheveux) de nos têtes. (p. 6, PSA). Thus in the North Andamanese standard language "ther-ulu" means 'eye' but to mean 'tears' i.e. 'eye-water' "ther-" is only added to "inu" 'water'. Ōnge "ono-me" means 'hand', "obo-rā-ñe" 'a crab's claw' and "ono-bo-rā-ñe" means 'the nail of the finger'. In other words, the prefix "ono-" belonging to the group of head, etc. is attached to "obo-rā-ñe" when the 'finger-nail' is meant. Without this prefix it would mean parts of non-human body. In the Jeru language the initial "jh" is excluded in case of limbs of non-human beings or inanimate objects.

For kinship terms the general prefix is "uth" (BROWN noticed it to be "ot-") in the Jeru language, "wo-" in the Jārawa language and "enu-" or "en-" in the Ōnge language. (The Ōnges in some cases do not use the prefix).

Modificatory prefixes are attached to the roots to mean portion or quantity, quality, state or action, space, time etc. In North Andamanese standard language "ot-juku" is 'dream' and the 'dreamer' is "oko-juku". BROWN has elaborately discussed the function of some prefixes of the North Andamanese language (ANI pp. 499-500). For instance, he shows that the prefix "erā" refers to place: "e-lobuñ" 'long', "erā-lobuñ" 'distant'; "meo" 'stone', "erā-meo" 'anchor'; "e-tire" 'off-spring'; "erā-tire" 'young offshoots of a tree'; "e-tomo" 'flesh, muscle', "erā-tomo" 'buttock'. PORTMAN in MAL cites from Bēa dialect of the South Andamanese language, the use of a prefix "en-" to intensify the meaning of the root, "yabnga" 'speak', "en-yabnga" 'making a person acquainted'. He also mentions that prefix "ig-" of Bēa, "ir-" of Puchikwar, "ngir-" of Kede and "ngārām" of Cāri serve to emphasise the sense expressed by the root. Regarding the Little Andamanese functional prefixes also, BROWN has made some observations which are found to be true. "In L.A. i- prefix functioning denotation of dependent object a part, quality, state or action of some person or thing". "i-dāñe", for



example, is 'the bone of any part' while "o-dāne" is 'the skull'. (In the writer's collection, however, the skull is "onu-thicu"). The prefix "ono-" is thus attached to head and its connected body-parts like hair, neck etc. The arm is "en-i-bi-le", because it is a stretched portion of the body. The hand which is, as it were, the head of the arm, is "on-o-bi". The fingers are practically the heads of the hand and the thumb is therefore "on-o-bo-tābe". The big toe is similarly "enu-ko-tābe" (the *k* sound being a variant of *g* in "enuge" 'the foot' which is practically tagged with "on-o-tābe" 'the head' here). Ōnge "ono-ig-bo" 'neck' is connected with "ono-tābe" 'head' as much as "enig-bo" 'cheek' is connected with "en-e-tābe" 'face', the prefix "-ig-" here is used for meaning an attached portion ("-bo" is the flesh or muscle in Ōnge language).

A prefix attached to a verbal root, "ātā-" for example, in Jeru, turns the verb to causative: "ijyo-ke" 'to eat', "ātā-ijyo-ke" 'to feed'; "em-phi-lo" 'to die' and "ātā-ṭh-em-phi-lo" 'to kill'.

Personal pronominal elements are attached initially to the roots like prefixes. They vary according to the number and person.

(Jeru)	Singular	Plural
1st Person	"ṭh- (t' acc. BROWN)" "ṭhiobi" 'I am'.	"m (+ ān, en, oin etc.)" "māniobe" 'we are'
2nd Person	"n-" "niobe" 'Thou art'	"n (+ ol, al, el, il, etc.)" "nol-e-māe ṭopholo" 'You have not made'
3rd Person	nil or "d" "u-ben-om" 'he sleeps' "du-āsi yubi" 'who is he'	"n-", "du-n-" "nu-ben-om" 'they sleep' "dunu-khe-bekhā" 'they are'
(Ōnge)		
1st Person	"mā-", "e-" "mā-omo-kābe" 'I sleep' "e-ṭi-girā-be" 'I eat'	"equi" "equi-omo-kābe" 'we sleep'
2nd Person	"ni-" "ni-omo-kābe" 'thou sleepest'	"ni (-yogā)" "ni-yogā omo-kābe" 'you sleep'
3rd Person	"gi-" or nil "gi-omo-kābe" 'he sleeps' "enai jābe" 'he is good'	"gi- (+ yogā)" or "ono-" "gi-yogā omo-kābe" 'They sleep' "ono-tot-ai-jābe" 'They are good'

The usual classificatory prefixes of substantival roots are sometimes replaced by personal pronominal elements as given above when the substantives are qualified by personal pronominal adjectives, e.g. "ṭhāmai" 'my father', "nāmai" 'your father', "menāmai" 'our father', etc. (Jeru).

Of the neutral prefixes, the introductory ones are remarkable in the South Andamanese languages, especially the Bēa dialect. This dialect was very particular about the use of the introductory prefix "āka-" and the neutral suffix "-da" in every substantive word. The Jārawa language is also found to be specially particular about the use of an introductory prefix at the beginning of every sentence, which is "ya-". The Ōnge language and the North Andamanese standard language have no such prefix either at the beginning of a sentence or before a substantive word.

But another kind of neutral prefix is found in all the languages. This is euphonic. These neutral prefixes are used before a word so that in the pronunciation of its particular initial sound after a particular final sound of the previous word may not produce difficulty or uneasiness. These are generally  $\ddot{t}$ (h) and  $\ddot{t}$  in North Andamanese and Little Andamanese. For instance, in Jeru "bōkhōri" 'a she-goat' + "uthire" 'child' = "bōkhōri- $\ddot{t}$ h-utthire" 'kid'; similarly "iheure- $\ddot{t}$ -ot-lām" is 'strong' and Ōnge "eneibo- $\ddot{t}$ -ā $\ddot{t}$ i" 'the skin of the eye'. These are called "integrative prefix" by BROWN.

(b) *Suffixes*:

Suffixes may be classified as verbal and substantival. Substantival suffixes used with substantival roots resemble the different case endings of inflexional languages. Their uses are illustrated below:

	North Andamanese	Little Andamanese	Jārawa
Vocative	x	"-gi" "Inene-gi" 'O Saheb'	"-wa"
Nominative	x	x	"-di"
Nominative (Oblique) (like Hindi mai-ne)	x	"-gi"	"-ki (ke)"
Objective	nil, "bi(k)" ("cel roābiyebe") (Bring the boat here) "re"	nil, "-li", "-gai" ("ēñeli-śukhwā gā- bebe") 'Give tobacco to the Ōnge-man') ("cowgegai nilleque- lebe" 'eats fish')	"-ke"
Dative (or with 'to')	("iho- ñe $\ddot{t}$ h-ere mar- be" 'I shall speak to you.')		"-du"
('near')	"-ce"		
('to')	"-kāk"		
	("hurua-kāk" 'to the Bluff Island')		



	North Andamanese	Little Andamanese	Jārawa
Instrumental (‘by’ or ‘with’)	“-ere”	“-gā”, “-bā” (“koyāge-gā” ‘bind with rope’)	
Ablative (...‘from’)	“-cot” “tāt” (luruā- tāt” ‘from Bluff Island’)	(“totā quate-bā” ‘kill by harpoon’)	
Locative (...‘in’)	“-il” (“mārākail(e)” ‘in our place, country’)	“-mmā” (“inle-mmā” ‘in the sea’)	
(...‘on’)	“-ek” (“buruū-ek- ra-be- nephōm” ‘grazes the pig on the hill’)		
Genitive	“-ico” (“thico roā” ‘my canoe’)	“-ijai” (“mijai” ‘my’) “-ko” (“emeiko hīce-be” ‘come behind me’)	“-dya”

The genitive is often expressed by the word without any suffix, only by its position before the noun it qualifies. The personal pronouns in Jeru sometimes take “-io” to form the pronominal adjectives. But their syntactical uses are sometimes very peculiar.

Verbal suffixes comprise two parts,—one expresses the tense, and the other expresses the other features of the verb (viz. transitive or intransitive, actional or equational, interrogative or assertive, action completed or incompleted etc.) In Jeru, the latter kinds of suffixes are “b, k, m, l,” as indicating respectively intransitive verb or equational verb, actional verb, interrogational verb and completional verb, with which tense suffixes are to be added finally and these tense-suffixes are in Jeru—“-om” for present continuous or future, “-e” for present indicative, “-o” (with its variants “-o”, “-uo”) for perfect, and “-ā” for past. In the Ōnge language the use of these verbal suffixes is confused and it has taken an almost different method. “-be” is a general suffix in this language, which may be called neutral, for it does not make any difference of equational or actional verb. Only to express the present continuous a different final suffix “-(n)jo” is found for non-negative verbs and “-otātek” for negative verbs. To denote all other senses, the Ōnges use words like “-aki-bo-ki” (for completed action) “kāte kātāote” (for past happenings) etc. before the final suffix “-be”. The Jārawa verbs show that non-negative verbs in present, perfect, and future respectively take “-ago”, “-ba” and “-aka” suffixes at the end. Negative verbs always have the suffix “-(a)ma”.

Verbal suffixes used with substantive roots make the denominative verbs as, for example, Ōnge "ēqu-qwe-be" 'we go hunting pigs' or "īnge-ce-be" 'drink water'.

Neutral suffix, substantival is found in Bēa and other South Andamanese languages as already stated before. In North Andamanese standard language and also in the Little Andamanese language this is not found. The Jārawas however have one substantival neutral suffix which is "-wa" and also an adjectival which is "-ga".

(c) *Infixes* :

Of the functional infixes, plural infixes like "-ne-, -ñe-, -nun-" in Jeru and "-og-" in Ōnge are found. The plural sense is also indicated by suffixes, as in Jeru by suffix "-ne", or "-ukhe". Another important infix is the negative infix which is "-otot-" (plural) or "-ebogil-" or "-egi-" (singular) in Ōnge language and "-phu-" or "-pho-" in Jeru. The Jeru use of "-phu-" as suffix is also found, "no. . . . . bolikhim -phu" 'we do not sleep.'

Neutral infixes are euphonic insertions of sounds as in Jeru "thu -ino-b-ikhu" 'I have drunk water'.

(d) *Compounding* :

Words are very often found joined together, the first one without suffix and the second one without prefix, and a cumulative sense is obtained like compounded forms, sometimes even giving a sense almost like the *Bahuvrīhi* compounds of Indo-Aryan language. Many interesting examples have been given in *LIA*, and only a few are given below : Ōnge "eneibo-tuge" is 'the eye-lash', "eneibo" meaning 'the eye' and "tuge", 'bird's feather (or wing)'; "icchele-gābebe" is 'the sling for carrying children', "icchele" is the loan word from Hindi, meaning 'child' and "gābebe" is 'to take', thus the two compounded mean 'one in which the child is taken'. In Jeru language 'a woman whose child is dead' is called "thiremphilo" because her "utthire" 'child' is "emphilo" 'dead'; "rulu-tot-bāt" is 'a blind man', on whose "therulu" 'eyes', comes down "bāt" 'night'.

(6) *Syntax* :

Both nexus and junction in Andamanese language are expressed by: (i) the use of affixes, (ii) compounding, and (iii) juxtaposition of words. The last process undoubtedly requires a convention of word-order which is generally common in all the language varieties and different dialects. The subject precedes the verb and in equative sentences, the predicative and the attributive adjective generally precedes the noun it qualifies, the object is followed by the transitive verb and the verb is generally at the final position. But there are deviations, e.g., in Jeru "erembuo-bek cāi lyu



mem" 'How do you call the ear' which stands as 'the ear' + (obj.) + 'what' + 'call' + interrogative verb element + present tense suffix; but "cā nēr phile-bik lyunem"='what' + 'you' + 'tooth' + obj. suffix + 'call' + verbal suffixes. The former word-order is found in Jārawa language also: "ya chonela joko-i-ago" i.e. 'the banana' + 'the man' + 'give' + verbal suffix. Such word-orders are exceptional.

The relation is not always understood from the position of words. (Jeru) "thico-roā-terkhuro" 'my canoe big' of course gives the sense of nexus but very often the verbal suffix "-bi" helps to understand the nexus in Jeru language. Similarly the substantival suffix "-ico" helps to give the idea of junctional relation. But here again confused mechanisms sometimes stand in the way and create complexities. (Jeru) "thimikhu-l-ñelio-bi" is an interrogative sentence meaning 'do you belong to the forest?' But the meaning of the sentence word by word is 'the jungle' + 'you belonging' + 'is' instead of 'the jungle belonging' + 'you' + 'are'. Of the verbal relations the equative sentence is more general than actional sentence. 'I have come to the Sahebs' in Jeru language is "thoā lāonun-ce-bo" meaning 'I' 'the Sahibs'—to 'have been', thus omitting the verb 'come' altogether.

(ANI)—*The Andaman and Nicobar Islanders*—A. R. BROWN, (Cambridge, 1922).

(LIA)—*A Linguistic Introduction to Andamanese*—D. N. BASU—(Bulletin No. 2 of Anthropology Dept., Govt. of India).

(MAL)—*A Manual of the Andamanese Language*—M. V. PORTMAN (London).

(NJL)—*Notes on the Jarawa Language*—MR. CHESGAFFA (Andaman).

(NLSA)—*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*—M. V. PORTMAN, (Calcutta, 1898).

(PSA)—*Préfixes et suffixes en Andaman*—Jules BLOCH (Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris No. 130, 1949).

# STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN DIETETICS— HISTORY OF THE DISHES, IDLI AND DOSE, BETWEEN A. D. 1100 AND 1900.

BY

P. K. GODE, Poona

The history of Indian dietetics has not yet been systematically studied. What articles in the present Indian diet, current in different parts of India today, are ancient and indigenous is yet a matter for investigation. During my study of the history of Indian plants of medical and nutritive value it was disclosed that some of our food plants were imported from outside into India more than fifteen hundred years ago. The history of Indian cookery which is mainly allied to Indian dietetics needs also to be investigated and recorded in detail. For this purpose we must study the history of the recipes of several Indian dishes, which are now current or were current in India in ancient and mediaeval India. In this connection we must study texts on dietetics like the *Bhojanasāra* by Giridhārī, a protégé of Raja Savai Jayasing of Amber (A.D. 1699-1743). This voluminous text in Hindi Dohās gives numerous recipes of dishes prepared in the royal kitchen of Savai Jayasing about A.D. 1739 when it was composed. It is a definite mile-stone in the history of Rajasthan cookery. In Mahārāṣṭra Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta (between c.A.D. 1640 and 1710), the great friend of Saint Rāmadāsa, composed a treatise on dietetics called the *Bhojanakutūhala*. I have published some papers on this text and its author. Both the *Bhojanakutūhala* and the *Bhojanasāra* are later than A.D. 1600. The encyclopaedic work by king Someśvara called the *Mānasollāsa* (c.A.D. 1130) contains a chapter on cookery called the *Annabhoga*. Though small, this text has a definite place in the history of Indian cookery as it reveals the cookery current during the time of the Cālukyas in the Deccan about A.D. 1100. For the earlier history of Indian dietetics we must study the chapters on food and drink (*annapāna*), in the early medical texts like the *Carakasamhitā*, the *Suśrutasamhitā*. Much useful matter regarding the Indian diet can be gathered from the Buddhist Canonical works like the *Cullavagga* etc. composed prior to the Christian era.

So far I have published papers on articles of diet like (1) Milk in general and cow's milk in particular,<sup>1</sup> (2) *Varaṇ* (Sanskrit, *Avarāṇna*, *Varāṇna*), a preparation of pulses eaten with boiled rice,<sup>2</sup> (3) *Jalebi*, a sweet

1. *Journal of Sarasvati Mahal Library* (Tanjore), Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 1-7.  
Hindi Trans. in *Kalyāṇa* (Gorakhpur), Cow Number, 1945, pp. 405-409.
2. *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XII, Nos. 1-4, pp. 1-9 and  
*Join Antiquary*, Vol. XII, No. II, pp. 45-52.



dish, now popular in many parts of India,<sup>3</sup> and (4) Fried rice (*Prthuka*) and other fried grains.<sup>4</sup>

I propose in this paper to record some references to the two popular dishes current in the Karnāṭak and South India viz. (1) *Idli* and (2) *Dose* between c.A.D. 1100 and 1900. These dishes involve no use of sugar. They are sold in Mahārāṣṭra in South Indian and Karnāṭak hotels and are prepared in the homes of the South Indian and Karnāṭak people wherever they go and reside. The people of Mahārāṣṭra eat them with relish but very few of them prepare them in their homes.

(1) The earliest mention of *Idli* and *Dose* occurs in the *Mānasollāsa* of the Cālukya King Someśvara composed about A.D. 1130. In Vol. II of this work published in the G. O. Series, Baroda, 1939, there is a chapter on *Annabhoga* or enjoyment of food by the King (pp. 115-136). In fact it is a small treatise on cookery, which deserves to be separately edited with a translation for the benefit of the students of the history of Indian Dietetics. In this chapter Someśvara gives the names of many articles of food and the directions regarding the preparation of several dishes current in the Deccan about A.D. 1100 among the Karnāṭakas and Tamils, as also the Marāṭhas. Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes are dealt with in this Chapter (see pp. 21-23 of Introduction by the Editor, Shri G. K. Shrigondekar). The method of preparing *Dose* or *Dhosakas* is mentioned by Someśvara as follows:—

Page 119—

*vidalam caṇakasyaivam pūrvasambhārasaṃskṛtam || 92 ||*  
*rāpyām taile (la) vilīptāyām dhosakān vipacet budhaḥ |*  
*māṣasya rājamāṣasya vaṭṭāṇasya ca dhosakān || 93 ||*  
*anenaiva prakāreṇa vipacet pākatattvavit |*

The *dhosakas* appear to have been prepared from the flour of *Caṇaka* (gram), *māṣa* (beans, Marathi *uḍid*) and *vaṭṭāṇa* (peas) and then cooked in oil.

The method of preparing *Idli* or *Idarikā* is next mentioned as follows:—

Pages 119-120—

*"āmlībhutām māsapīṣṭām vaṭikāsu vīnikṣipet |*  
*vastragarbhābhīr anyābhīh pidhāya paripācayet || 99 ||*  
*avatāryātra maricān cūrṇitam vikīred anu |*  
*ghṛtāktā hīṅgusarpībhyām śirakena ca dhūpayet || 100 ||*  
*suṣītā dhavalā (h) ślakṣṇā etā idarikā varāḥ |"*

3. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 169-181.

4. *Annals* (B.O.R. Institute, Poona), Vol. XXIX, pp. 43-63.

The *Idarikās* or *Iḍlis* were prepared from the fermented fine flour of *māṣa* (beans) made into small circular balls, which were cooked and then spiced by the use of the powder of *marīca* (black pepper), ghee, *hiṅgu* (*Asa-foetida*), and the powder of *jīraka* (cumin-seeds).

(2) Corresponding to the reference to *Idarikā* in the Sanskrit work, *Mānasollāsa* of c.A.D. 1130, we have the following reference<sup>5</sup> to *iḍḍariyā* in a Prākṛta work called the *Supāsanāhacaria*<sup>6</sup> composed by Lakṣmaṇagaṇi in A.D. 1143 :—

Page 485—The Sanskrit equivalent of the Prākṛta text which refers to *iḍḍariya* (*Iḍli*) is as follows:—

asti Surāṣṭro deśo ghoṣa iva sūtīrthakṛtāśobhaḥ || 3 ||  
 tatṛāsti dhanasamṛddhaṁ Girinagaraṁ nāma pattanaṁ tasmīn |  
 rājā ripubalamathano Mathano nāmnā suprasiddhaḥ || 4 ||  
 tathā ca Maheśvaradattaḥ śreṣṭhī nyavasat pracuradhanakalitaḥ |  
 Lalitā tasyāsti priyā Datto nāmnā tayoḥ sutaḥ || 5 ||  
 durlalita-goṣṭhīkṣiptaḥ pītṛbhyāṁ vicarati pratipuram api |  
 vilasati veśyānāṁ grhe vividhaviḷāsair durlalitaḥ || 6 ||  
 pibati surāṁ tathā sarakāṁ surataprasakto gamayati divasāni |  
 athānyadā gataḥ sa audyānyāṁ saparivārah || 7 ||  
 madhumāṇḍakamodakamaṇḍitānāṁ iddarikagundravāṭakānāṁ |  
 guruśakāṭāni bhṛtvā vāṭakakarambayoś ca tathāiva || 8 ||  
 viṇāveṇupravīṇaṁ sugāyanavṛndaṁ samam evānayati |  
 tato gurugabhīrasarasītaḥ dattvāvāsam || 9 ||

In the country of Surāṣṭra there was an opulent town called Girinagara, where lived a very rich merchant of the name Maheśvaradatta. His wife was Lalitā. Their son was Datta, who wandered in different places, lived with the prostitutes and enjoyed all kinds of pleasures. He passed his

5. See p. 167 of *Pārasaddamahānava* by Har Govindadās, Calcutta, 1923-28.

6. See p. 485 of *Supāsanāhacaria* ed. by Har Govindadās, Banaras, 1918-19. About the date of this work see p. 516 of *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta), Vol. II by M. Winternitz. The author of this work was Lakṣmaṇagaṇi. He was a pupil of Hemacandra. He began the composition of the work at *Dharmadhukaya* (modern Dharadhukā) in Gujarat and completed it in Vikrama Sāmvat 1199 (A.D. 1143) at *Maṇḍalipuri* (modern Māṇḍal) during the reign of King Kumārapāla of Gujarat. (See p. 9 of Introduction by the editor). The work contains many stories (*Kathā*) bearing on Jain religion and philosophy. The reference to *iḍḍariyā* occurs in *dattakoṭhā* (story of Datta) which illustrates *bhogaparibhogaviramāṇa vrata* of the Jains, which prescribes abstinence from worldly enjoyment. Datta was the son of a rich merchant (*śreṣṭhī*) called Maheśvaradatta of Girinagara and his wife Lalitā. Datta was given to the enjoyment of pleasures and passed his days in the company of prostitutes, eating and drinking to excess at picnics arranged by him in parks near the town of his residence.



life in drinking wine and indulging in sexual pleasures freely. Once he went out for a picnic to the banks of a large lake and pitched his camp there. For making himself merry he carried with him cart-loads of rich dishes like *madhumāṇḍaka*, *modaka*, *iddarika* (Prākṛta *iddariya*) and *gundravāṭaka*, etc. To add to his merriment he had taken with him a party of musicians, who were experts in vocal and instrumental music.

It will be seen from the above extract that *iddariya* (*Idli*) enjoyed some popularity as a delicious dish even in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra in the first half of the 12th Century.

(3) The Marathi Dictionary *Śabdakośa* by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve (Vol. I-1932, p. 310) records the word *īdarī-ḥ* as a Canarese word and explains it as a dish made of the fermented flour of beans (*uḍida*) and rice with salt etc. The usage of this word recorded by this *Sābdakośa* is as follows :—

Page 310 —

*pūṣṭa caṁdrācā anukārī*  
*cokhālapaṇeṁ bhajije īdarī |*

—*Ṛddhipūravarṇana* (81) by Nārāyaṇa Vyāsa, ed. by G. K. Deshpande, 1929.

In the above quotation *īdarī* is said to resemble the full moon in point of shape and colour (namely circular shape and whiteness).

(4) Dr. B. A. Saletore in his *Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire* (A.D. 1346-1646), Vol. II, Madras, 1934, records some information about several dishes<sup>7</sup> current at Vijayanagar on the basis of extracts from the works of the following poets:—

- (1) C.A.D. 1485—Terā Kaṇāmbi Bommarasa.
- (2) C.A.D. 1508—Maṅgarasa III in his work called the *Sūpasāstra*.
- (3) C.A.D. 1600—Anṇāji.

7. For those interested in the history of Indian Dietetics I may note below the following sources of this history recorded by Dr. B. A. Saletore in foot-note 1 of Vol. II of his *Social and Political life etc.*

- (i) *Aśvāsamedha* Inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya (9th Cent. A.D.) *Epi. Indica*, Vol. IX.
- (ii) Poet Śantinātha (C.A.D. 1068)—see *Kavi Carite* Vol. II, p. 9.
- (iii) *Pūrvanātha-purāṇa* mentions different kinds of *bhakṣa* (see *Kavi Carite*, Vol. I, p. 327.)
- (iv) Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 178—Dishes of Northern India.

In the extract from Bommarasa's work quoted by Dr. Saletore (p. 313) we find a dish called *Kaḍabū*. A South Indian Shastri at the B.O.R. Institute who read the Canarese extract for me is inclined to identify this *Kaḍabū* with *idli*. I am unable to accept this identification as the dish *kaḍabū* prepared in the Mahārāṣṭra today is quite different from *idli*.

*Maṅgarasa* III mentions the recipes for the following dishes in his *Sūpaśāstra*:—

(1) *gharivḷāṅgāyī*; (2) *hālagārige*; (3) *savudu—roṭṭi*; (4) *himāmbu—pānaka*.

He also gives a description of a Hindu dinner (*bhojana*)—See *Kavi Carite*, Vol. II, p. 188.

The poet Appāji describes *ūṭa* and *mīṭhāyī-aṅgaḍi* (Sweet-meat shop)—See *Kavi Carite*, Vol. II, pp. 336-337.

Canarese scholars may examine the works of the above poets and see if they refer to *Idli* and *Doṣe*, which are the subject of my present paper.

(5) The Marathi *Śabdakośa* (Vol. I—1932) records the word *idūrī* for *Idli* as found in the poem *Rukmiṇī-Svayamvara* of the Mahārāṣṭra Saint Ekanātha (c.A.D. 1533-1599). This poem was composed in Śaka 1493 = A.D. 1571.<sup>8</sup> The pertinent extract containing the word *idūriyā* as quoted in the *Śabdakośa* reads as follows:—

Page 311—

“*pūrṇa paripūrṇa puriyā |*  
*sabāhya goḍa gulavariyā |*  
*kṣīrasāgarīṁcyā kṣīraghāriyā |*  
*idūriyā sakumārā ||*”

—*Rukmiṇī-Svayamvara*, 14, 119.

Though *Idli* is a Canarese and South Indian dish proper it appears to have been popular in Gujarat in the 12th Century and in Mahārāṣṭra also in the 16th Century as will be seen from Saint Ekanātha's mention of it among other popular dishes like *puriyā*, *kṣīraghāriyā*, etc.

(6) Sanskrit and vernacular texts of South India are likely to contain references to *Idli* and *Doṣe*. Not being conversant with these texts I am unable to search for these references. I record below the following references to *idḍali* and *doṣā* pointed out to me by Shri C. R. Deshpande, a

8. Ekanātha's date and life are recorded in the *Madhya yugina Caritra Kośa* by S. CHITRAVAHASTHI, Poona, 1937, pp. 171-174. The date of the *Rukmiṇī-Svayamvara* is recorded on p. 173.



post-graduate student of the B. O. R. Institute, who is making a special study of the Campū literature.

Śrī Rāmānuja-Campū by Rāmānujācārya was composed about A.D. 1600. It has been edited by P. P. S. Sastri (Madras Govt. Ori. Series No. 6, Madras, 1942). This Campū is a historical biography of Śrī Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137), the great dvaita philosopher. Verse 29 of 3rd Stabaka of this Campū reads as follows :—

Page 39 :—

"abhyāgamyā pade pade savinayam samprārthito gehibhiḥ  
 śuṣṭhīrarakarāmaṭhādisurabhī gaṇḍākṛtīrīḍḍalīḥ |  
 doṣāmaṇḍalam indubimbadhavalam sadyo ghytenāplutam  
 bhaktaṁ svarṇasavarṇasūpasakitaṁ sāmmodam āsvādayan ||"

This verse gives us a fine poetic description of the hearty reception given to a guest by householders. The guest enjoyed with delight a dinner consisting of boiled rice with the following dishes :—

- (1) *īḍḍalī* of round shape made fragrant with ginger, cumin seeds, and asafoetida (*rāmaṭha*).
- (2) *doṣā* dipped in fresh ghee, with circular shape looking white like the disc of the moon.

(7) Raghunātha Navahasta<sup>9</sup> (Navāthe), the great friend of Saint Rāmadāsa of Mahārāṣṭra composed a work on dietetics called the *Bhojanakutūhala*<sup>10</sup> between c.A.D. 1675 and 1700. In the first Pariccheda of this work he gives us a list of all articles of diet, including vegetables, cereals, fruit, etc., as also different kinds of dishes current in Mahārāṣṭra and other provinces of India in the 17th century. The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses a MS of this first Pariccheda (No. 594 of 1899-1915). A topical analysis of this Pariccheda has been published by me in the *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XXI, pp. 254-263). On folio 19 of this MS he mentions *idli* along with *dhiraḍi*, *pūrikā*, *godhūmapheṇī*, etc. This reference shows that *idli* was popular in Mahārāṣṭra in the 17th century.

I now close this paper with a request to scholars to record some more evidence about the history of the two popular dishes *idli* and *Dose* from sources unknown to me.

9. See my paper on this author in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, 1941.

10. For MSS of *Bhojanakutūhala* see AUFRICHT, CCI, 418; II, 95, III, 96.

## INTERPRETATION OF TWO ORIYA WORDS

BY

SIDDEHESHWAR HOTA, Puri

(1) *Siṅhuā*:—It means 'left as refuse'. But it has acquired other meanings also; e.g., "*muñha siṅhuā kalā paddi jaichhi*" i.e. "The face has become deeply dark." Here the meaning change is as follows: "left as refuse" (< Sanskrit *śiṅṣa*, *avaśiṅṣa*) > "rejected" > "unclean" > "dark."

(2) *Kāṭu*:—The word *kāṭu* means 'effectiveness'; 'range of a gun'; 'the stake consisting of cash in gambling', and has the Dēśī element. The last meaning popularly is used in Ganjam and Koraput side.<sup>1</sup> The word *kattā* has been used in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, in the following passage:

"*kattāsaddē viṇṇāṇaśśa halai haḍakam maṇuśśaśśa*  
*kattāśabdo nirnāpakasya harati hṛdayam maṇuṣyasya*". Act. II.

The Sanskrit commentary in this connection explains *kattā* as *dyūta-karaṇam yayā sā kattā / Kāu iti prasiddhaḥ /*

The Khurdha people understand '*kāṭu*' as meaning "the circular iron rim of cart wheels". *Kaṭa* (Skt. *kṛta*)<sup>1</sup> is used in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in following line as *arē mūrkhā, nanvahan daśasuvārṇān kaṭakaraṇeṇa prayachhāmi*.

The word '*kāṭu*' is a tatsama word of '*kātu*' of Dravidian origin and assumes different shapes such as '*kāluā, kāduā, katuka*, etc.' due to outward and inward forces and influences of historical, geographical and phonetic conditions which act on the formation and growth of the vocabulary.

1. But for the use of Skt. *kṛta*, Pāli, Pkt. *kaṭa* as the name of the (winning) throw in gambling and not 'stake' or 'prize won' see Lüers, *Philologica Indica*, p. 142 ff.



## CHANGE, ANALOGICAL AND SEMANTIC

BY

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Analogic change, so-called, and change of meaning are commonly discussed in one breath; yet attempts to define their parallelism more closely have seldom been satisfactory. The following paragraphs are intended to explore the possibility that some of the difficulties are only verbal in that they reflect the equivocal application of one term, "change," to incommensurate entities in what are indeed, in all other respects, very similar processes.

1. What is that changes in semantic change? The answer to this question must of course vary with one's philosophy of meaning. But on one point linguists at any rate should be able to agree: when a linguistic form (e.g., a phrase, a word, an affix, a stem; perhaps even—a matter which we shall leave unexamined here—a given kind of arrangement between forms, a construction) changes its meaning, it changes its distribution<sup>1</sup> among the totality of the remaining forms in the language. This, after all, is how the historian tells semantic change; he finds that a form (say, the OE word *cēace*, the antecedent of NE *cheek*) occurs in particular sentences or utterances, i.e., in combination with particular forms at a later stage (say, in NE) which are different from the utterances and combinations where the "same" form occurred at an earlier stage (say, OE). Frequently the net final effect of such a change in occurrence or distribution is that all or a large part of the total of utterance environments in which the form in question used to be in order are filled, at the later stage, by one different form. There has been *replacement* of one form by one other, and we commonly say that the latter (say, *jaw*) has undergone semantic change in that it has taken on the meaning of the former (say, *cēace*). In the popular view the word has changed its meaning and has *therefore* ceased to occur in old, and begun to occur in new, utterances. In such a view meanings are accepted as unanalysable, irreducible properties of "words." A more cautious observer, however, might simply say that he can measure, ideally (i.e., if he had proper sampling methods), change in meaning by the amount of change

1. Distribution must not be taken to mean frequency distribution, at least not directly. It simply refers to statements on the presence or absence of the combination of a given form in sequence (however extended) with other given forms.

in the total utterance environment, or, for that matter, that synchronically the difference between the meanings of two forms can be *measured* by expressing the difference between the total utterance environments of each. This will be readily granted in the case of so-called synonyms: *threat* and *menace* are synonyms insofar as these two forms are interchangeable for each other in a great many utterance-frames; they differ in meaning to the extent that they are not so interchangeable, as in the sentence *He walks around muttering—s.*, where *menace* is not said. The cautious formulation just proposed also has the merit of bringing meaning into line with grammar, or rather, dictionary meaning with grammatical meaning. Whether or not a Sanskrit, or English, or Algonquian noun is the "name of a place, person, or thing," a linguist will define a noun (independently in each language where he finds the term useful) as a class of words found in certain, advisedly chosen utterance environments. Thus, very roughly, *threat* and *tree* are nouns inasmuch as they will fill the frame *This is a—*; the linguist need not investigate what kind of things, persons or places they denote. As different, more, and longer environment frames are selected the list of those words which fill all of them will shorten until we reach the point at which near-synonyms are distinguished.

To return from our digression into synchronic linguistics, a semantic change may be pictured thus:

	1	2	3
OLDER STAGE	<i>cēace</i> ,	<i>cēace</i> , etc.	
RECENT STAGE	<i>jaw</i> ,	<i>cheek</i> ,	<i>cheek</i> ,
		<i>jaw</i> , etc.	

where 1, 2, and 3 may be alternatively interpreted (a) as symbols for classes of utterances in which the words are met with (1 representing those frames in which *jaw* replaces *cēace*,<sup>2</sup> 3 those in which *cheek* is now used but in which *cēace* failed to occur, and 2 those in which *cēace-cheek* has continued to occur along with other nouns (e.g., *This is a—*)); or (b) as meanings (or *idéas*, or concepts, or *signifiés*...) denoted by the words in question (in this case, 1 and 3 are defined by the anatomist; 2 is again the category of "places persons or things").

2. What goes on in analogical change? There has been much discussion on the subject.<sup>3</sup> A great deal of it has centered in one way or another upon the predictability of analogical change, that is, on the con-

2. That *cheek* in turn, replaces the older meaning of *jaw* (from F. *joue*?) is an accident, and irrelevant here.

3. Eg. by J. Kurylowicz, *Acta Linguistica* 5 (1945-9), pp. 15 ff.



ditions likely to favour it. Here we are only concerned with the far simpler question as to what has become different in the language after analogical change has taken place.

Like semantic change, analogical change involves linguistic forms dropping out from certain environments or beginning to appear in certain environments. Thus, *waxed* as a past participle is an analogical replacement, the earlier form having been *waxen*. The form *-ed* has widened its distribution: while it used not to occur after *wax-* it now does so occur. By the same token *-en* has suffered a change in distribution in that it no longer occurs after *wax-*:

	1	2	3
OLDER STAGE	<i>-ed</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>-en</i> .
RECENT STAGE	<i>-ed</i>	<i>-ed</i>	<i>-en</i> .

In this example, 1 represents the position following *live-* and other verbs which have remained weak, 2 represents the position following *wax-* (and other similar ones in which weak endings replaced strong ones at one period or another, and 3 represents the verbs which have maintained *-en*-participles. In some, though not in all, respects, this parallels the earlier table. Wherein lies the essential difference?

To ask this question is tantamount to asking how it is that the change from *waxen* to *waxed* cannot be called a semantic change. Ever since English had both *cheek* and *jaw*, these words existed side by side, like all nouns by definition in partial contrast with each other, as illustrated by column 2 in the first table above. *This is my jaw* and *this is my cheek* both occur, and have occurred ever since *jaw* was introduced. This is precisely what makes their meanings different. This is not true of *-en* and *-ed*. Rather, the occurrence of *-en* dovetails with that of *-ed*; the two do not contrast with each other; their distribution is mutually exclusive (excepting minor instances like *proved/proven* which are clearly on a different level); they are, in short, not different morphemes (like *jaw* and *cheek*) but merely morpheme alternants or allomorphs within one and the same morpheme (the "past participle morpheme").<sup>4</sup> In analogical change, it seems, one allomorph gains at the expense of another within the morpheme. In semantic change, one morpheme may gain at the expense of another morpheme, their status as morphemes remaining assured by the fact that the two forms continue in contrast, in surroundings not involved in the change. This description certainly fits the present example; it is highly probable that it can be extended to other, more complex instances of analogical change.

4. See Z. S. HARRIS, *Methods in Structural Linguistics*, (Chicago, 1951), pp. 197 ff.

3. A comparison of the two tables will reveal the lack of congruency in the two uses of the term "change." In dealing with change of meaning we study a linguistic form (e.g., a word) as it moves out of old, and into new total utterance surroundings, that is, meanings. Putting it graphically, we follow one or several forms (*cēace-cheek*, *jaw*) in their wanderings across the numbered columns. Semantic change is something attributed to linguistic forms of given shape. In dealing with analogical change we proceed from the other end: we examine an environment (e.g., the position immediately following it *has (is) war-*) and state how this environment is filled at different periods in the history of the language. We move down each numbered column from line to line, i.e., from stage to stage. Analogic change is something attributed to given environments, i.e., given meanings. In our example, the past participle of *war* is designated by a new form.

There is no need that environment changes in different morphemes should always be described by taking the form as a starting point, while descriptions of such changes in allomorphs proceed from the environment in which the form occurs. This is only a convention. Semantic change can be stated in terms of stable environments with changing occupants as well, and so can analogical change be described by keeping the form (in this case the allomorph) constant and follow it through its areas of application. Then we obtain the following four formulae:

	FORM MOVING THROUGH ENVIRONMENTS	ENVIRONMENT FILLED BY DIFFERENT FORMS
MORPHEMES	<i>jaw</i> moves into some of the former environments (takes on the meaning) of <i>cēace-cheek</i> (CUSTOMARY STATEMENT)	certain utterance environments (meanings) which used to be filled (expressed) by <i>cēace</i> are now filled (expressed) by <i>jaw</i>
ALLOMORPHS	<i>-ed</i> moves into some of the environments formerly occupied by <i>-en</i> (e.g. after <i>war-</i> )	an utterance environment like it <i>has (is) war-</i> —, which used to be filled by <i>-en</i> , is now filled by <i>-ed</i> (or: the past participle of <i>war</i> has been analogically changed from <i>waren</i> to <i>war-ed</i> ) <sup>5</sup> (CUSTOMARY STATEMENT).

5. As hinted before, the *Machinery* (as opposed to the *results*) of analogic change with its proportional pattern (provided in this instance by the weak verbs already in existence) is left out of this discussion.



## PĀṆINI'S RULES AND VEDIC INTERPRETATION \*

BY

S. S. BHAWE, *Baroda*

### 1. Introductory: importance of Pāṇini's rules.

Pāṇini's grammar as an auxiliary science to the Veda is one of the most important aids to Vedic exegesis. All the same it is surprising that even the traditional grammarians (*vaiyākaraṇas*) do not generally pay much attention to the Vedic rules of Pāṇ.,<sup>1</sup> separately treated by Bhaṭṭoji in his *svaravaidikī-prakriyā*, and are always occupied with those dealing with classical Sanskrit. One who independently studies the Pāṇinian Sūtras would clearly see that Pāṇ. treats the Sanskrit language as a whole and gives rules for the Vedic language in a separate series of Sūtras, only when they are not applicable to the classical, and gives exceptions to the general rules by the famous '*chandasi bahulam*'. Of course, Sāy. makes the fullest use of Pāṇ's rules and his model Bhāṣya on the first Adhyāya of the *Ṛk-saṃhitā* (i.e., Sūktas 1, 1-19) demonstrates very clearly how important and indispensable these rules are for Vedic interpretation, and Bhaṭṭoji<sup>2</sup> in his *Vedabhāṣyasāra* specially recommends its study to Vedic scholars.

### 2. Different opinions on the point.

Among the Western scholars, however, there has been some difference of opinion on the point (1) WHITNEY, for example, after comparing a number of Pāṇ.'s Vedic rules with the evidence of the Vedic texts concluded that the former were quite inadequate for the purpose. He found want of consistency in Pāṇ.'s terminology and blamed him especially for his promiscuous use of expressions like *chandas*, *mantra*, *yajus* etc., as also for his want of principle

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1. See the last foot-note for a list of abbreviations.

2. Bhaṭṭoji: *Vedabhāṣyasāra*, Bombay, 1947 (Bharatiya Vidya Series No. 12, ed. Pandit R. N. PATANKAR, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7) p. 9; cf. the following stanza:—

*etasmīn prathamo'dhyāyāḥ śrotavyaḥ saṃpradāyataḥ /*  
*vyutpannaḥ tāvatā sarvaṃ boddhum śaknoti śuddhadhiḥ / /*

in the choice of the facts described. "...What, then, was the use of his touching the subject of Vedic peculiarities at all?", he asked.<sup>3</sup> A more favourable view, however, was taken by (2) Sylvain LÉVI, who tried to answer WHITNEY's doubts; in so doing, however, he only partially recognised the importance of Pāṇ. for Vedic interpretation. He opined<sup>4</sup> that Pāṇ. lays no claims to teaching either the language or grammar of the Veda; but that the language and grammar which he does teach are closely related to them (*Italics ours*). Sylvain LÉVI further clearly appears to take the view that Vedic peculiarities were noted by Pāṇ. only to fix more clearly the usage of the current (i.e., classical) Sanskrit. (3) Paul THIEME, however, in his excellent monograph on *Pāṇini and the Veda* refutes WHITNEY and very well demonstrates<sup>5</sup> that all the terms like *chandas*, *mantra*, etc., are used by Pāṇ. quite systematically; he also refutes LÉVI, by pointing<sup>6</sup> out that the language of the sacred texts was used in the sacrificial rites (*yajñakarmaṇi*, Pāṇ. 1. 2. 34) and in the daily recitations (cf. *anvadhyaṃ*, Nr. 1. 4) as opposed to *Bhāṣāyām* and that as such it could not be supposed to contain wrong word forms. He says further, 'It is for this reason that Pāṇ. endeavours to justify Vedic words and usages that were alien to the Bhāṣā by special rules valid only for the Veda.'<sup>7</sup> Finally, after considering in detail Pāṇ.'s rules especially on the Vedic *Upapada*—compounds (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 63-73) and on the *Abhinihita-sandhi* (Pāṇ. 6. 1. 115-121) in the Veda he convincingly demonstrates<sup>8</sup> that the Vedic rules and exceptions given by Pāṇ. fully accord with the facts of the Vedic texts, which he knew so well and to which he applied his unique gifts of observation and capacity of induction. Moreover, what is more satisfying is that THIEME has throughout followed, as pointed out in his introduction (p. xiv), the method of traditional Pāṇinian scholars, especially that of removing doubts by interpretation. Of course, THIEME could obviously subject only a few Vedic rules of Pāṇ. to a critical treatment and there is immense scope for work in that line. Thus, for example, a study of Pāṇinian rules on Vedic accent, especially with reference to compounds, would show how important, even indispensable, they are for the difficult task of Vedic interpretation.

3. W. D. WHITNEY: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Italy* (title in Italian) 7.243 ff., referred to and quoted by Paul THIEME: *Pāṇini and the Veda* (Allahabad, 1935), Introduction, p. xii. WHITNEY's view as referred to here is a short summary of what THIEME has stated.

4. Sylvain LÉVI, *Mémoire de la société Linguistique de Paris* 12, 278, referred to and quoted by Paul THIEME, *ibid* intro. p. xii f.

5. THIEME, *ibid* pp. 67-72.

6. THIEME, *ibid* p. 67 f.

7. See foot-note 6 above.

8. THIEME, *ibid* pp. 24-26 and 46-59 respectively; cf. especially p. 67 f.



3. Consideration of an important accent rule viz. Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48.

Eminent Vedic scholars like OLDENBERG, GELDNER and others no doubt do take Pāṇ.'s rules into consideration, but perhaps not quite fully. The rules especially noted by them mainly concern syntactical accent such as that of vocatives, verbs etc. Some typical instances of the disregard of certain important accent rules especially in the case of compounds would well illustrate the point. (1) Let us take the case of instrumental determinative (*Tr-Tat.*) compounds in the RV having a past passive participle (*ktānta*) as the second member. According to Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48 (*ṭṛṭiyā karmaṇi*) in the case of such compounds, the preceding member should have its original accent, this being an exception to the general rule that *Tat.* comps. accent the final member (Pāṇ. 6. 1. 220), as also to the special rule about comps. ending in verbal derivatives (*leṛṣa*) having the latter accented (Pāṇ. 6. 2. 139). We get many *ktānta*-comps. in the RV. regularly accented on the first member, such as *pātijustā* (loved by the husband) 1. 73. 3; *ādrisutaḥ* (pressed by the stones) 9. 72. 4; *devākṛtam* (made by the gods) 3. 33. 4 and so on, which are definitely *Tr-Tat.* in accordance with the rule just now stated. On the other hand, such comps. not accented on the first member are not to be taken as *Tr-Tat.*; thus *pitṛvittó rāyih* (wealth obtained from the father and not by the father) 1. 73. 1 is a good example of a *Pañ.-Tat.* Interpretation of this compound as instrumental comp. (meaning obtained by the father) is excluded by the irrefutable evidence of accent, as also by the context<sup>9</sup> in which the comp. occurs and, incidentally, this throws light on the law of paternal inheritance in Rgvedic times. But a real difficulty arises, where one wants to take such compounds as *Ṭṛṭiyā* comps. in spite of accent. Sāy. on 1. 11. 4 interprets the comp. *puruṣtutá* on the strength of accent and this rule (viz. Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48), which he quotes there. The word means 'praised in many' (places or sacrifices) and not 'praised by many' (devotees), which is against accent. Bhaṭṭoji also in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, while explaining the so-called *thā-thādisvara* (Pāṇ. 6. 2. 144) gives this very example. Gld.<sup>10</sup> translates the word by 'vielgepriesene (the much-praised)' which does not clearly show whether he discards the *Tr-comp.* or not; Prof. VELANKAR<sup>11</sup> translates it with 'oft-praised,' mostly not differing from Gld. Would it be however, too fastidious to suggest that 'praised in many (places)' or 'for many (causes)' would be a better translation? No doubt, an omnibus exception to this rule is given by Pāṇ. by mentioning the *pravrddhādi* group in Pāṇ. 6. 2. 147, which is an

9. The context is the praise of Agni, who is said to be *vayodhāh* (bringer of food or strength, which contributes to happiness) like the wealth inherited from the father; it is obvious that a son would be happy by the wealth obtained (by him) from the father, rather than that obtained by the father, which he may or may not get.

10. *Der Rgveda* HOS 33. 12.

11. *Jou. U.B.* Sept. 1948 (No. 23) p. 7.



*ākṛti-gaṇa* and the words in which may be construed as Tr-Tat. etc. in spite of accent, though the only Vedic word actually listed in the group is *kaviśastá* (praised by the wise). In fact, Sāy. himself, while explaining a similarly accented compound discards what he did at 1. 11. 4 and takes *puruprasastá* (1. 73. 2) as a Tr-comp. in spite of accent and actually takes refuge under Pāṇ 6. 42. 147 (*Prv.-gaṇa*) which he quotes there. This is, incidentally, one of many indications, which go to support the theory of Sāy. of the first Adhyāya not writing the whole RV-Bhāṣya and of there being many Sāys. Even Venkaṭamādhava,<sup>12</sup> an expert in R̥gvedic grammar, explains *puruprasastá* against accent and ostensibly on the support of *Prv.-gaṇa*. So it would appear that in spite of Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48, and often perhaps without knowing it, one may be right in his translating such *antodātta* compounds as Tr-Tat., only on the authority of Pāṇ. 6. 2. 147. It is, however, clear that the omnibus *Prv.-gaṇa* should be one's last resort only and we should normally try to apply the rule '*trīyā karmaṇi*' as far as possible; at least that seems to be the intention of Pāṇ., otherwise the Ācārya, to use the Bhāṣyakāra's (Patañjali's) favourite word, would not at all have composed the rule Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48.

#### 4. Discussion of *vibhvataṣṭá* in 3. 49. 1.

That the application of this rule will give us a more accurate translation of certain R̥gvedic words can be shown from the example of the comp. *vibhvataṣṭám* (3.49.1) occurring as an epithet of Indra. The context is that Heaven and Earth and the Gods fashioned out Indra as a slayer of enemies (*ghanān vṛtrāṇām*). In spite of accent, almost all the interpreters take it to be a Tr-Tat. Gld. renders it with 'the masterly (i.e. skilful)' hammer (to kill fiends<sup>13</sup>) without explaining how the word can mean 'skilful'. Prof. VELANKAR<sup>14</sup> translates it as a regular instrumental comp. by 'skilful slayer of Vṛtra'. In his explanatory footnote he says that *vibhvataṣṭá* means 'fashioned by the skilful' and hence 'skilful' Sāy. also takes it against accent to mean 'established by Vibhu (i.e. creator Brahman)' in the overlordship of the world, possibly putting it in the *Prv.-group*. Here it must be noted against Sāy. that the first member is not *vibhu* but *vibhvan*, which certainly does not mean the creator. *Vibhvan* is no doubt the name of one of the three R̥bhus, the heavenly architects and that might have led modern translators to introduce the conception of skilful in the translation of the comp. *vibhvataṣṭá*. But that is not warranted; for it is not *Vibhvan*, but R̥bhu or R̥bhukṣā that is

12. Cf. *puruprasastá* explained as *bahubhīḥ prasastāḥ*, 'R̥garthadīpikā on R̥gveda-saṁhitā', ed. Laxman SASTRI, Lahore, 1933, Vol. I, p. 365.

13. Gld's actual words are '.....als meisterlichen Hammer' HOS. 33. 389.

14. Jou. U.B. May, 1935, p. 35.



generally connected with Indra.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, here we have nothing to do with the proper name of a Rbhu, but the word is simply a verbal derivative (*kṛdanta*) in *án*. MACDONELL<sup>16</sup> in his usual infallible style renders the word with 'far-reaching' taking it as an adjective (a verbal derivative in *án*) and that or similar is the meaning of the word all along in the RV and obviously, as a verbal derivative from *vi* +  $\sqrt{bhu}$  it may mean "all pervading" (adj. or noun) 'far-spreading greatness' (abstract noun), or some such thing. Venkaṭa-Mādhava, however, honouring the accent and also the root-meaning of the word, hits at the right interpretation; he paraphrases the word with 'fashioned so as to have a big body.'<sup>17</sup> This quite fits in with the context: a slayer of enemies was required by the gods; he should naturally have the qualities both of intellect and physique; the epithets *sukrátu* and *vibhvaṣṭá* in the passage amply bring out both these senses. Having once used the word *sukrátu*, again to introduce the idea of skilful etc. in *vibhvaṣṭá* is superfluous. We may, therefore, translate the word as 'big-sized,' 'megaformic,' or slightly loosely, 'gigantic.'

#### 5. Same comp. in RV 5. 48. 4 and 5. 42. 12

In the light of this, the word *vibhvaṣṭá* again occurring in RV 5. 58. 4, in the context of a king fashioned out by the Maruts, can be well translated with 'fashioned so as to be large (i.e. powerfully built)' against Sāy., who does not honour the accent and takes the comp. to be *Ṭṛ-Tat.* and takes *vibhvan* (the Rbhu) as the creator of the king, which certainly has no authority in the RV. Gld's translation in this case as '(den) vollendeten König'<sup>18</sup> i.e. a perfect, consummate king is nearer the mark. Further in 5. 42. 12. the word, occurring as an epithet of the rivers, leaves no doubt as to its real meaning 'created for being big i.e. spreading, flowing far and off.' Sāy., here too, goes against accent and renders the word as 'fashioned by the middle Rbhu viz., Vibhvan' and Gld<sup>19</sup> also plainly translates it with 'the rivers fashioned by Vibhvan (the master i.e., skilful)'. No doubt, the Rbhuv are mentioned in the first pāda of the passage, but that does not warrant attributing the work of fashioning the rivers to Vibhvan, the second of the three Rbhu brothers, this being none of his usually mentioned cosmic activities.

15. *Vájo devānam abhavat sukārmēndrasya Rbhukṣā Vāruṇasya Vibhvaḥ*, RV. 4. 33. 9.

16. Vedic Index to his Vedic Grammar for students, p. 497.

17. *Vibhvam* (sic) *iti mahannāma, prthu-taṣṭam, mahāśarīro yathā bhavati tatā* *īṣṭam* VM 3. 633; of course, it is difficult to think of a word like *vibhva* in the RV meaning 'great'; the available words are either *vibhvan* or *vibhvaṇ* or *vibhā*, the last word with the fem. form *vibhvi* might give a masc. *vibhva* through mistaken analysis.

18. HOS 34. 65.

19. HOS 34. the actual words are, 'die von Vibhvan (dem Meister) gebildete'.



6. The exact significance of *vibhván*.

The question as to whether the middle *Ṛbhu* is meant in such comp. or not would be at once settled, if the accent of the word in the particular comp. were available; because *Vibhvan* meaning the *Ṛbhu* is accented on the first syllable, whereas *Vibhván* taken as an adjective or a noun meaning 'skilled' or 'an artificer in general'<sup>20</sup> (with accent-shift) is accented on the last syllable. But in a regularly accented Tat-comp. like *vibhvataṣṭá*, where the first member is accentless, it is impossible to find out which word is used. Yet the text of the RV helps us well to settle the question. Whenever the *Ṛbhu* is meant, and context always makes it clear—the word *Vibhvan* is *ādyudātta* and wherever he is not meant, the word is *antodātta* (*vibhván*).

7. Discussion of *vibhván* in 6. 61. 13 and 10. 76. 5

This, however, requires further confirmation, because all this attempt to interpret the comp. *vibhvataṣṭá* in the light of Pāp.'s rules would really be valid, if the meaning so far sought to be given to *Vibhván* is really warranted by *Ṛgvedic* usage. Luckily for us *vibhván* independently (i.e. outside a comp.) occurs twice in the RV and an examination of those passages would show that our interpretation is quite in harmony with the *Ṛgvedic* thought-world. The river Goddess *Sarasvatī* is praised in 6. 61. 13<sup>21</sup> and she is stated to be *vibhvāne kṛtā* (much the same as *vibhvataṣṭá*), which can easily mean 'made or fashioned for flowing, spreading far,' etc., *vibhván* being a noun from *vi* + *√bhū*, to spread oneself, to multiply etc., *Vibhvan* the *Ṛbhu* being entirely out of question. Gld.<sup>22</sup> translates the phrase with 'created for unfolding (i.e. giving) strength or vigour' and Sāy. with *vibhvane vibhutvāya kṛtā*. Obviously both the scholars exclude the meaning *Ṛbhu*; while, Sāy.'s interpretation is much the same as suggested above, Gld.'s is a little far-fetched, but certainly not opposed to the root-meaning of the word. *Vibhván* (*antodātta*) also occurs in another passage (10. 76. 5), where the *grāvāyaḥ* (pressing-stones) are praised. It contains an exhortation to the singer to praise the stones: *vibhvānū cit āśvāpastarebhyaḥ* (*arca*). Gld. translates, '(I wish to sing a praise to them) who work more quickly than *Vibhvan* himself',<sup>23</sup> following Sāy., who takes *vibhván* to mean one of the *Ṛbhū*s, sons of *Sudhanvan*, specially mentioning that their mythical activity of dividing the heavenly cup was famous for its quickness. It is indeed very difficult to suppose that great *Veda*-interpreters like Gld. and Sāy. have erred on such a simple point. We may, however, remember that *Homer* also nods and say

20. MACDONELL, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, London, 1893, p. 287.

21. *Rātha iva brhātī* *vibhvāne kṛtā* *pastūtyā cikīṭṣā* *Sārasvatī*, 6. 61. 13 cd.

22. HOS 34. 164. Gld.'s actual words are: 'zur Kraftentfaltung geschaffen.'

23. HOS 35. 257. cf. Gld.'s words: 'die rascher arbeiten als selbst *Vibhvan*.'



that the meaning given both by Sāy. and Gld. is against accent. In the case of Gld. it might be that the translation missed his revising hand; for, we see in it two more irregularities, in addition to that of disregarding the accent. First, he translates *arca* (impv. 2nd per. sg.) as if it were *arce* (pres. 1st per. sg.) which he might have done for the sake of idiom; and secondly, in spite of the instr. sg. *vibhvánā*, he connects the word with the comparative adjective *āśvāpastarebhyaḥ*<sup>24</sup> which Sāy. also does. There are three other comparative adjectives ending in *-tara* in the *ṛc* no doubt, but they are correctly connected with the normal ablative sg. (e.g. *divaḥ cit* etc.). If the Ṛṣi had meant an abl. sg. he could easily have used *vibhvāno* without harming the metre in the least. It is clear, therefore, that the Ṛṣi deliberately uses *vibhvánā āśvāpastarebhyaḥ* meaning '(to the stones) that are the quicker on account of their bigness or size (*vibhván*)' suggesting thereby that the bigger the stones, the quicker do they press out the Soma juice. The interpretations, therefore, both of Gld. and Sāy. are not acceptable. (Incidentally, this is one more instance to show that different Sāy.'s were working on the *Ṛg-Bhāṣya*). We are, thus, justified in taking *vibhván* as a noun or adj. used as a noun, meaning 'spreading i.e. being big' etc. and translate, (to them), who are indeed quicker (in work) by virtue of their size. (A more literal translation following the Bah. accent and therefore dissolution of the comp. *āśvāpaḥ* in the comp.-adj. *āśvāpastarebhyaḥ* would be 'who are quicker than those, whose *āpas* i.e. work or activity is quick'; it need hardly be mentioned that the independent Svarita on the second syllable of the comp. shows that the first member *āśú* is accented and hence the comp. is Bah.)

#### 8. *Vibhvatastá* in RV 4. 36. 5.

Finally, in one passage viz. 4. 36. 5 the meaning both of the adj. *vibhván* and the proper noun *vibhvan*, name of one of the Ṛbhus is possible for the word *vibhvan* in the comp. *vibhvatastá*. The context there is about the wealth (*ráyik*) given by the Ṛbhus, and the *vibhvatastá* (*ráyī*) is proclaimed to be praiseworthy. Again, the accent of *vibhvan*, it being the first member of the Tat. comp., is not determinable, yet in a Ṛbhu-context, the middle Ṛbhu is certainly possible. In that case we have to take the compound as Tr-Tat. in spite of accent, put the word in the *Prv.-gāṇa* and trans-

24. The Pp. correctly analyses the comp. *āśvāpas*...etc. as '*āśvāpaḥ-tarebhyaḥ*', (where *āśu* + *āpaḥ* is a Bah.-comp.) the whole meaning 'quicker than one whose work is quick', if we apply Pān 6. 2. 119 a little loosely, because according to this rule in a Bah. comp. beginning with *śú*, the 2nd member if it has two vowels and is originally *ādyudātta*, remains so. Here every condition is answered except that the comp. begins in *āśu*. Incidentally, the independent Svarita in *-śvā-* shows that *āśu* is not accented in the comp., but *āpas* is accented.



late it as 'produced by the Vibhvars<sup>25</sup> (i.e. the R̥bhū). Sāy. does the same. If, however, we want strictly to stick to Pāṇ. (6. 2. 48) and not to take resort to the *Prv.-gaṇa*, we can discard the instrumental comp., and dissolve it as *vibhvanah* (*bahutvāt kāraṇāt*) *taṣṭah* (*nirmitah*), with the meaning 'created for multiplying, increasing'. This would well fit in with the R̥gvedic idea of wealth, especially cattle wealth, which is generally expressed by the word *rāyih*<sup>26</sup> and further this would be strictly in accordance with the R̥gvedic idiom, which often indulges in punning on the names of deities, and especially on all the R̥bhū-names, which is actually done earlier in this passage. (Cf. a pun on the name Vāja in *Vājaśrutāso yām ājījanan nāraḥ* 4. 36. 5 b).

#### 9. Exact scope of the rule Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48.

The foregoing discussion amply proves that a strict application of Pāṇ.'s rule *ṛṣīyā karmaṇi* (6. 2. 48) allows us to probe deeper into the ideological world of the Vedic R̥ṣis and in certain cases such as RV 3. 49. 1; 5. 48. 4; 42. 12 it gives an interpretation, which, it is hoped, is more accurate and more in conformity with the spirit of the RV than what has been available so far and in some more cases such as RV 10. 76. 5 and 4. 36. 5 it gives us probably better alternative interpretations. And the whole force of Pāṇ.'s so carefully framed rules in this connection appears to be that (a) in case of a comp. ending in a *ktānta* (past pass. part.) we should always take it as a *Ṭṛṣīyā* comp., whenever its first member shows its original accent, cf. comps. like *pātijujā* = loved by the husband, 1. 73. 3 and that (b) whenever the compound is *antodātta*, we should take it to be any Tat. but *Ṭṛṣīyā* and *Ca-turthī* (cf. *Vibhvataṣṭāḥ* so far discussed), with the proviso that (c) in absolutely unavoidable cases, we may take such an *antodātta* comp. to be a *Ṭṛ-Tat.* in spite of accent, by taking it as an exception to be put in the *prv.-gaṇa* (cf. *Kaviśaṣṭāḥ* = praised by the wise 1. 152. 2). This detailed statement of one rule as a specimen further supports THIEME's view that Pāṇ. knew his Vedic texts very well, and therefore, we may add, his rules on Vedic grammar of the type illustrated above must be taken into consideration more strictly than what has been done so far.

#### 10. Macdonell's view on the value of Pāṇ.'s Vedic rules.

It would, however, appear that the importance to be given to Pāṇ.'s rules in the field of Vedic interpretation has to be reduced considerably on account of some rather categorical observations on Pāṇ.'s treatment of the Vedic language made by MACDONELL, whose opinions on matters of Vedic

25. In the RV the name of any one of the three R̥bhū brothers in the plural stands for all the three.

26. In R̥gvedic prayers we often get an expression of the desire that *rāyih* should be multiplied; the epithets like *sīsvātas* *prthūh* 2. 1. 12<sup>d</sup> and others applied to *rāyih* confirm the idea that it stands for cattle.



exegesis have got to be taken seriously. In his *Sanskrit Grammar*<sup>27</sup> he says that " (Pāṇ) . . . gives hundreds of rules about the Veda but without completeness. His account of the Vedic language, taken as a whole, thus shows many gaps, important matters being often omitted, while trifles are noticed. In this part of his work Pāṇini shows a decided incapacity to master his subject-matter, attributing to the Veda the most unbounded grammatical license, especially in interchanging or dropping inflections." The substance of this criticism is that Pāṇ. does not fully treat the Vedic language, because he could not completely master it. Even granting for a moment that this criticism is justifiable, it does in no way vitiate the position taken up in this paper regarding Pāṇ.'s importance for Vedic interpretation, because if all the details of the Vedic language are not treated by Pāṇ., at least those which are should be deservedly given greater attention which is so far not done at times even by Sāy. as shown in the specimen case of a compound discussed above in paras 3 to 7. Patient study will reveal abundance of such cases. Moreover, many aspects of Vedic grammar, which appear to be untreated by Pāṇ. can be explained by his available rules helped by the *paribhāṣās* and other grammatical technicalities developed by the grammarians of the Pāṇinian school ending with Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. Besides, a few cases might be such as were not known to Pāṇ., the text concerned being perhaps a later incorporation, which obviously requires settling further chronological problems. The applicability of Pāṇ.'s available rules, thus, remains unchallenged. Other objections such as want of system in the use of terms etc. raised by WHITNEY are fully answered by S. LEVI and Paul THIEME as indicated at the outset. A further detailed reply to MACDONELL's charges requires an independent investigation, which obviously need not be undertaken here, the main point in this paper being in no way disturbed by them.

#### 11. Pāṇ.'s rules neglected by later Vaiyākaraṇas.

More instances about the applicability of Pāṇ.'s rules to Veda cannot be discussed here for want of space. Early Indian tradition of Vedic interpretation paid the highest attention to points of Grammar. Many of the well-known peculiarities of the Padapāṭha, such as putting an *avagraha* between the members of a comp. etc., Yāska's point of view that the Nirukta is only a compliment of grammar,<sup>28</sup> Patañjali in agreement with Kātyāyana putting a special plea in his introduction to the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya<sup>29</sup> for the study

27. MACDONELL: *A Sanskrit Grammar for students* (3rd Edition, London, 1927, lithographically reprinted, 1950), Intro. p. xi.

28. 'Vyākaraṇasya kārṭavyam' is the phrase which Yāska uses; further he also lays down that Nirukta should not be taught to a non-grammarian (*svaiyākaraṇa*).

29. 'Vāc na nirvṛṇyād āvācnam ity adhyeyam vyākaraṇam', Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* introduction while explaining RV 10. 71. 4.



of Vyākaraṇa especially on the ground of preserving and understanding the Veda, the phonetic treatises like the Śikṣās quoting the stock example of the correct and incorrect accent of *Indrasātrur vardhasca*,—all these go to show the obvious yet paramount importance of the Vedic parts of traditional Grammar for Vedic exegesis. Pāṇ. is the only available grammarian, who treats the Vedic language sufficiently exhaustively. His rules were, somehow or other, neglected even by the classical Vaiyākaraṇas except Sāyaṇācārya, who fully explains the import of Patañjali's views on the point in his introduction to the *R̥gvedabhāṣya* and makes the fullest use of Pāṇ. throughout his interpretation of the whole of the RV. As pointed out earlier, his Bhāṣya on RV 1. 1-19 deserves fullest study from this point of view.

#### 12. Indication of how Sāy. uses the rules.

A little indication of how he does this would further emphasize the point sought to be brought out in this paper. Every word occurring in these hymns is explained by Sāy. both morphologically and accentually, *entirely* by the help of Pāṇ.'s rules. Even in peculiarly difficult cases he does follow Pāṇ, and still, if any difficulty remains, he very intelligently finds some way out. Let us take the case of the word *yásas* (fame, food according to Sāy.) as noun accented on the first syllable and *yaśás* (famous) as adjective accented on the last. By the help of modern science of comparative grammar, one takes it as a case of accent—shift due to change of meaning, (another stock instance being *ápas* = work, and *apás* = active). One feels that even the ancient scholars would have made use of this science if it were available to them. Sāy., very intelligently notes the two differently accented forms of the same word and explains them well. At RV 1. 10. 7 he derives the noun *yásas* from √*ás*, to spread on the authority of the Unādi-Sūtra 4. 630,<sup>30</sup> which also explains the *ādyudātta* accent. Modern linguistic science would obviously not agree with this derivation; but for Sāy. there was no go. When, however, he sees the form *yaśásam* (acc. sg.) with accent shift as in 1. 1. 3, he hits at the adjectival sense all right, takes it to belong to the *arṣa-ādigaṇa* (Pāṇ. 5. 2. 127), the form then being *yaśása* (with a vowel-ending) and as even in that case the accent must be on the last syllable, he finally treats it as a case of *vyatyaya* (Vedic irregularity). It may appear that this instance goes against the so far propounded doctrine of deriving help from Pāṇ.'s rules. But it is not so; on the contrary it is a triumph for the ancient grammarians

30. The reference in the RV-Bhāṣya edition of the Vaidika Saṁśhodhana Mandal given as Unādi 4. 6. 30 is obviously a misprint for 4. 640. The sūtra runs as 'áśer devans yuṣ ca.' In the edition of the various recensions of the Unādi ed. by T. R. CHINTAMANI (Madras University Sanskrit series No. 7, part 2) Madras, 1933 p. 119, the reading is only 'áśer yuṣ', with a foot-note that one Ms omits it.



that in the absence of modern critical or historical aids, they noted the change both of accent and sense and gave a workable interpretation all right. Of course, nobody wants to argue that irrefutable conclusions of modern linguistics should be thrown over-board in such cases; at the same time, rules of Pāṇ., as shown earlier, must also be taken note of as a very important aid, —almost infallible aid—to Vedic interpretation. And where those rules are inadequate and force one to escape into a *vyatya*, it is a case for a regular linguistic inquiry, a portion of the credit for which should go to those very rules.

13. The word *Mahādhanā*: another instance of Sāy.'s method.

Let us look to an interesting case viz. that of the comp. *mahādhané* (1. 7. 5; 40. 8, etc.) in order to see how Sāy. uses the rules of Pāṇ. to good advantage and to see how they encourage further inquiry. The comp. has a Tat. or Karm. accent; yet it has got to be taken as a Bah. as is done by traditional interpreters like Yāska and others, who treat it as a synonym of *saṅgrāma* (with the dissolution *mahat dhanam yasmin*). Sāy. finds it difficult to go against tradition, at the same time he has to take note of the accent, which is a stronger factor. He, therefore, at RV 1. 7. 5 takes the comp. to be Karm., rejecting tradition in order to honour accent and explains<sup>31</sup> the passage with the paraphrase, '(We invoke Indra) for the sake of great wealth (*mahādhané prabhūtadhananimittam*),' the word *mahādhané* being contrasted to the word *ārbhe* (little wealth) in the same passage. Thus, strict adherence to Pāṇ. enables us to evaluate the tradition as preserved by Yāska and offers a very good and natural sense besides. When the word further occurs in 1. 40. 8, in spite of its contrast to the word *ārbha* occurring even there, Sāy. renders *mahādhané* with '*prabhūtadhananimitte yuddhe*' this being an attempt both to honour accent as well as tradition. In the grammatical notes on the passage, Sāy. gives the Karm. dissolution of the comp. and takes the sense *saṅgrāma* secondarily (i.e. by *lakṣaṇā*). At 1. 112. 17 the dissolution is dropped, still the explanation is by *lakṣaṇā* '*mahādhanena upete (saṅgrāme)*.' At 9. 86. 12 the word straight means '*saṅgrāma*', the accent and compound being entirely forgotten! Obviously *mahādhanā* = *saṅgrāma* was a strong traditional equation. One feels, however, that it was not so in Pāṇ.'s time and earlier; otherwise he would certainly have noted the Karm. accent in contrast to the Bah. sense, and would mostly have composed a *sūtra* and a *gaṇa* for this and such other comps. (cf. a similar comp. *mahākulā*, with a Bah. sense and Tat. accent discussed below). Some Vaiyākaraṇas want to

31. The actual wording of the Bhāṣya on 1. 7. 5 as given herewith is notable:....  
'*bahuvrīhīve mātī, antodāttatvādisiddheṣu sūtra tad gṛhitam.... mahac ca tad dhanam ca iti antodāttah....*'

put such words under the *nirudaka*-group<sup>22</sup>, where the words have a Bah. sense in spite of Tat. accent. But that is not acceptable, because all the words in that *gaṇa* are Upapada-comps., which begin with *nir-* (excepting four others beginning with *pari-*) and comps. beginning with *mahā-* do not go harmoniously with them. Can we say that such words occur in late passages and were not known to Pāṇ.? Deeper investigation of the point is necessary. Or can we say that tradition forgot the original sense?

#### 14. A similar comp. *mahākulā*

A similar difficulty arises with the word *mahākulā* 1.161.1 as an adj. of the cup, said to be divided by the Ṛbhus. The word has a Karm. accent and in order to have the expected sense (*mahat kulam yasya*) we should have accent on the first member. Sāy. does not comment on this; the reason is perhaps that as the Bhāṣya proceeds further, grammatical points are not so closely noted. Can we also suggest, that this is an additional argument for the relatively younger age of the particular Ṛgvedic passage? Or, as suggested above this is a case for a new *gaṇa* of Bah. comps irregularly accented. Regarding *māhādhanā* there is ground to suppose that the Karm. sense was acceptable to Pāṇ. and also to early Vedic usage. Regarding this comp. also we might hold then that Pāṇ. had such a sense in his mind, as would agree with the Tat. accent.

#### 15. Conclusion

The foregoing discussion, it is hoped, makes it clear that Pāṇ.'s Vedic rules are very important for the Veda and if applied more extensively would throw considerable light on the interpretation of Vedic words. Gld.'s

#### 32. *Nirudakāddinī* ca, Pāṇ. 6. 2, 184.

A note on abbreviations:—

In addition to the commonly used abbreviations such as RV = Ṛgveda; Sāy = Sāyaṇa (Ṛgvedabhāṣya); pres. sg. = present singular and so on, the following are used in this paper:

Cat. = Caturthī.

Comp. = Compound.

Gld. = GEMANNA, *Der Ṛgveda* (Harvard Oriental Series, 33-35).

Jou. U. B. = Journal of the University of Bombay.

Karm. = Karmadhāraya.

Tat. = Tatpuruṣa.

Tr. = Trīyā; (with the addition of Tat. = Trīyā Tatpuruṣa).

Pāṇ. = Pāṇinī (Aṣṭādhyāyī).

Prv.-gaṇa = Pravṛddhādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. 6. 2. 147).

It should further be noted that unspecified three-figure references are to the Ṛgveda; thus, 3.49. 1 = RV 3.49.1 and so on.



recently published translation of the Ṛgveda was actually completed more than a quarter of a century back and if a fresh translation, aided by all the research material accumulated during the period, is to be attempted, the results of a deeper study of Pāṇ.'s rules must be taken into consideration for a more authentic rendering of the RV. Such a study may also open some fresher fields: (a) a reconstruction of the *gaṇas* on the strength of Pāṇ.'s rules dealing with the Vedic language would be possible and would be a good aid to Vedic exegesis; (b) further insight into the chronological problems of the Veda may also be possible on the strength of meaning suggested by accent rules; (c) a study of the irregularities and inconsistencies in the Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya in the light of Pāṇ. will throw new light on Sāy.'s text as also on that of the other Bhāṣyakāras like Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava; (d) and finally it might also throw further light on a few semantic problems of the Vedic language, which would certainly be most welcome to Indo-Europeanists and more so to the Indo-Aryanist and Indologist.

## PRONOUNS IN VAḌḌĀRĀDHANE

BY

G. S. GAL, *Dharwar*

Vaḍḍārādhane is a prose work in Kannada which is ascribed to the authorship of one Śivakōṭyāchārya. It is a collection of stories bearing on Jaina religion which belong to that class known as Jaina narrative literature. In fact, this Kannada work is a partial Kathākōśa giving nineteen stories which are referred to in the Bhagavati Ārāghanā of Śivārya or Śivakōṭi and which also bear close affinity to some of the stories given in the Bṛhat-kathākōśa of Hariṣēpa.<sup>1</sup> There is controversy about the date of this work, some assigning it to 6th century A.D. while others opine that it belongs to 10th or 11th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The work is interesting for a student of linguistics and in this brief paper it is proposed to discuss some of the pronominal forms found there.

### *The First Person*

In the singular, the first personal pronoun is *ān* in the nominative and *en* in the oblique cases. In the plural, we have *ām* and *nām* in the nominative and *em* and *nam* in the oblique cases.

CALDWELL<sup>3</sup> says that *en-* and *nam* which are found in the oblique cases represent older forms than the nominative bases. TUTTLE<sup>4</sup> assumes the basic forms of the first personal pronouns, to be *en-* in the singular and *em* in the plural. According to Goda VARMA,<sup>5</sup> however, the basic form of the Dravidian first person is *en*. In Kannada the oblique base *en-* in the pronominal form of the first person singular is more ancient. In this connection, it may be noted that the commentator of the traditional grammar Karnātaka Śabdānuśāsana (17th Century, A.D.) remarks that the northern school of Kannada poets use *nan* and *nam* while the poets of the Southern school use *en* (*'en pakṣa-pātinō hi dākṣiṇātyā kavijanāḥ iti'*). The history of the Kannada pronouns, as studied from the earliest inscriptions, shows that *en* is the earlier form.

In Vaḍḍārādhane, we get the form *ān* as the first person singular, while *nām* and *ām* forms are found in the plural. In the oldest Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyarṁ, *yān* alone is mentioned as the first person singular nom.

1. *Bṛhat-kathākōśa*, ed. by A. N. UPADHYE, Intro. p. 65.

2. *Ibid*, p. 72.

3. *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*,<sup>3</sup> p. 360.

4. *Dravidian Developments*, p. 28.

5. *New Indian Antiquary*, p. 202.

6. *Karnātaka Śabdānuśāsana*, ed. by R. NARASIMHACHAR, sūtra, 288.



form while the later grammarians of that language like the authors of *Vīracōḷiyāṁ* and *Nannūl* mention *nān* also, besides *yān*. This shows that *yān* is earlier than *nān*.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Subrahmanya SASTRI thinks that *nān*- may have been formed through analogy with *nāṁ*, which is the first person nominative plural form.<sup>8</sup>

In most of the Dravidian languages, the distinction between the *inclusive* first person plural and the *exclusive* first person plural exists. In Tamil *nām* is considered to denote the *inclusive* first person plural in the nominative while *nāṅgaḷ* denotes the *exclusive* form.<sup>9</sup> In Telugu, *mēmu* is the nom. form of the *exclusive* plural while *manāmu* is the *inclusive* form. In Malayalam *nāṁ* denotes the *inclusive* form in the nom. plural while *nāṅṅaḷ* denotes the *exclusive* form.

As regards Kannada, CALDWELL stated that it did not possess this distinction between *inclusive* and *exclusive*.<sup>10</sup> R. NARASIMHACHAR has observed that Kannada does possess the two forms of the plural of the first personal pronoun, like its sister languages.<sup>11</sup> The author of this paper has shown elsewhere<sup>12</sup> that the distinction between the *inclusive* and the *exclusive* first person plural did exist in Kannada in the 10th Century A.D. This view gains further support by the study of the pronominal forms in Vaḍḍārādhane. In this work, the forms *nāṁ*, *namman*, and *namage* are used as *inclusive* first person plural while *āṁ*, *emman*, *emage* and *emma* are used as *exclusive* first person plural.<sup>13</sup>

The honorific singular forms of the third person masc. *ātāṁ* (nom.), *ātanaṁ* (acc.) *ātange* (dat.) and *ātana* (gen.) are found in Vaḍḍārādhane. In the history of Kannada language, we meet with such forms for the first time in the 9th and 10th cent. A.D.<sup>14</sup> In this work we also come across the corresponding honorific singular forms of the feminine gender like *āke* (nom.) *ākeyaṁ* (acc.) *ākege* (dat.) and *ākeya* (gen.), forms which are rarely met with in the language of the inscriptions of the early period.

The Reflexive pronouns found in Vaḍḍārādhane are *tāṁ* (nom.) *tannaṁ* (acc.) *tanage* (dat.) and *tanna* (gen.) in the singular and *tāṁ* (nom.) *tamma* (gen.) and *tammoḷ* (loc.) in the plural.

7. P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*, p. 126; C. R. SANKARAN, *Reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian Pronouns*, *Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. I, p. 96.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *New Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV, p. 206.

10. *Comp. Gr. Dr. Lang.*, pp. 414-15.

11. *History of Kannada Language*, p. 84.

12. *Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. I, p. 411.

13. *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣat Edition, pp. 13, 22, 23, 25-29.

14. G. S. Gai, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannada*, p. 67.

## A MERGED VERBAL ROOT OF TELUGU

BY

K. S. R. SARMA, Poona

Hereunder I discuss about the Telugu verbal root *ettu* '(to) give birth to', '(to) beget'. The sentence, *āme padimandi pillalanu ettindi* 'She gave birth to ten children', shows the use of this root.

One who knows Telugu is prone to think at the outset that *ettu* '(to) give birth to' may only be the consequence of a semantic change of the root *ettu* '(to) lift', 'raise', etc., for every mother carries the embryo before child-birth and the child itself at some time or other after its birth. As a matter of fact, all the lexicographers of the Telugu Language have recorded only one root *ettu* and the references are given below :

1. A. D. CAMPBELL 111 (1821)

- ettu* v.a. 1. to lift, to raise  
2. to seize, to take away  
3. to procure  
4. to begin  
5. to obtain or procure.

2. C. P. BROWN 123 (1852) *ettu*

1. to take up, raise, lift  
9. to raise or levy (an army)  
*janmam ettu* (he assumed a mortal body) to be born.

3. A. Galletti Di Cadilhac 113 (1933)

1. *ettu* 'to raise.'

4. *Śabdaratnākaramu* 108 (1937—2nd Edn.)

*ettu*...8. *vahintsu*  
*vāḍu mantśi pēr ettenu*  
(He got a good name).

5. *Sūryārāyāndhra Nighaṇṭu* 792 (1936)

*ettu* (intr. vb.) (Kannaḍa *ettu* Tamil *eduttal*...)

15. *pondu, paḍayū* (to obtain) *ette munmanmagurṛala*  
*nendarēni* (She begot many great-grand-children).



We may add to the above a reference from *Dravidian Cognates*, Madras University, 1944 (p. 58).

Tamil	}	ēṛṛu 'to lift up', 'raise', 'hoist.'
Malayālam		
Telugu		ettu 'to lift up.'
Kannāḍa,	}	ettu 'to lift,' 'hold up.'
Tuḷu, etc.		

I happened to come across the following sentence in a Kannada Reader (Kannada Second Book, p. 58, Department of Education, Mysore, 1952) *Ninnannu hetta namma tande eutha puṇṇasāli!* (Our father who brought you forth, how blessed is he!) At once, it suggested itself to me that *hetta* in this sentence and *ettindi* in the sentence given at the commencement might be originally related. And I began to enquire and this paper is the result thereof.

KITTEL's *Kannada-English Dictionary* (1894) on page 1682 has the following entry :

*heṛ*, *heṛu*. I. *peṛ*. 1. to get, etc., to bear, to give birth to... (*prasava prasūtē*, *Nanārtharatnākara* (MS.) 120; (also some citations from *Basavapurāṇa*). Further, P.p. *hettu*;...*hettamane Sūti-kāḡṛha*; *hettamma*... (the mother who bore one).

Now let us see what *Dravidian Cognates* of the Madras University says on page 157 under 'pe'.

Tamil	}	<i>peṛu</i> 'to get', 'to obtain', 'to bring forth'.
Malayālam		
Telugu		<i>peṭṭu</i> cp. <i>purudu</i> , <i>pērukonu</i> , <i>viṛugu</i> (curdle).
Kannāḍa	}	<i>peṛu</i> 'to obtain', 'to beget', 'to thicken as ghee,
Tuḷu, etc.		

Again in KITTEL's *Dictionary* on pages 1011-2, one finds the following:

*peṛ*, *peṛu*... 2. to beget, to generate, to procreate, to bear, to give birth to. Tamil-Malayalam *piru*, *pira*, to proceed from, to be born, arise; ... Telugu: to grow, to increase (*Śabdamañidarpaṇa* 285—1872 Edition referred).

P. p. *pettu*.

*peṛ*, *peṛu*... 2. to thicken, to congeal, to curdle as ghee, curds or oil *āḡṇaḡṇa* in *Tōṭada Ārya Śabdamañjari* (MS) Tam. *uṛṛ*; Mal. *piri*; Tel. *viṛugu*.

From the above it may be seen that the common Dravidian root is *peṛ*. This in Modern Kannāḍa becomes *heṛu*, (uptill the end of the 9th century *p-*

is preserved. In the 10th century forms with *h-* in place of *p-* began to appear in all parts of the Kanarese area,<sup>1)</sup> with its past participle *hettu* and the Telugu root *ettu* in the sentence given at the beginning is connected with this, but not with *ettu* 'to lift.'

There is curiously enough, another root *peṭṭu* in Telugu, generally meaning '(to) put' but in such sentences as *ā kōḍi nālugu pillalanu peṭṭindi* (that hen has given birth to four chickens) it means bringing forth. And perhaps for this reason 'hen' is called in Telugu *kōḍi peṭṭa* in addition to another word *peṇṭi* used for all she-animals, in general; (cp. Tam. *peṇ* and Kan. *peṇ* and *heṇ*).

*peṭ+u*, the euphonic ending of Telugu as in so many cases changes through *peṭṭru* (orthographically *peṭṭu* in Tamil) to *peṭṭu* in Telugu.

While the original root is thus preserved in *peṭṭu* of Telugu, there is the parallel root *ettu* from *hettu* of Kannaḍa through the loss of the initial *h*. This indicates the probability that some Telugu roots are the result of an earlier separation from the original Dravidian stock and that a second separation took place when the *Telugannaḍa* branch split into Telugu and Kannaḍa.

Now we have to account for the loss of the initial *h* for which the following pairs of examples may be seen:

Kannaḍa		Telugu
<i>haḍapa</i>	(a betel pouch)	<i>aḍapa</i>
<i>heḡgu</i>	(blame)	<i>eggu</i>
<i>hēva</i>	(Disgust, repugnance)	<i>ēva-gimpu</i>
<i>hōṭi</i>	(hollow)	<i>ōṭi</i>

However, Kannaḍa while retaining the initial *h* in many words, has lost it too optionally in some cases e.g., *hetstsu*, *etstsu*; *hettsu*, *ettsu* (Telugu) (increase or excess); the same example also serves to illustrate that Telugu has also retained optionally in some cases the initial *h*.

In conclusion, we may with certainty say that *ettu* < *hettu* < *pettu* < √*peṭ* and *ettu* < *ēṭṭru* (*ēṭṭu*) < √*ēṭ* have been merged into one root as evidenced by the Telugu Lexicons.

1. A. NARASIMHAIAH, *A Grammar of the Oldest Kannaḍa Inscriptions*, 2.



## JIMŪTA-, M.

BY

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Altindoar. *jimūta-* ist seit Rgveda VI 75, 1<sup>ab</sup> literarisch überliefert,<sup>1</sup> bedeutet schon an der Stelle seines frühesten Auftretens unbezweifelbar<sup>2</sup> soviel wie "Wetter-, Gewitterwolke"<sup>3</sup> und ist ausser im Alt-, auch im Mittel-Indoarischen, dagegen nicht, wenigstens soviel ich zu erkennen vermag, im Neu-Indoarischen bezeugt.<sup>4</sup> Seine sprachgeschichtliche Interpretation lässt sich in folgenden Linien aufzeichnen:

Eine Analyse aus an-arischen Sprachmitteln ist mir nicht bekannt.<sup>5</sup>

1. Vgl. Maurice BLOOMFIELD's "Vedic Concordance" (= Harvard Oriental Series 10), p. 379, Sp. Lu. für den ausser-rgvedischen Belegstand namentlich des ersten Pāda, ebd. Sp. l. u. für die Verbreitung des Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā-Stückes (XXV 8) *jimūtaṁ hydayaupasābhyaṁ*, während weitere Vorkommen aus Richard SIMONS "Index verborum zu Leopold von Schroeder's Kāthakam-Ausgabe" (Leipzig 1912), s.v. sowie aus Viśva-Bandhu ŚĀSTRĪ's "Vaidika-Padānukramakoṣa or a Vedic word-concordance 2, I (Lahore 1935), s. v. zu entnehmen sind. Gesondert sei auf Atharvaveda XI 5, 14c *jimūta āsan adrednaḥ* aufmerksam gemacht.

2. Charakteristischerweise fehlt jede Diskussion hierüber nicht nur in Karl F. GELDER'S *Rgveda-Übersetzung*, sondern auch in Hermann OLSEN'S "Textkritischen und exegetischen Noten" zum Rgveda (Berlin 1909 und 1912), ebenso in den vedischen Bibliographien Louis HENKOUS bzw. R. N. DANIEKARS.

3. Das pw. bucht ausserdem weitere neun, z. T. (fünf) rein lexikographische Bedeutungen, von denen im Rahmen meiner Studie noch die Rede sein wird. Was die Bedeutung "+ Berg" anlangt, so bemerkt bereits das PW. s. v., dass "man auch sonst die Bedd. Wolke und Berg vereinigt angegeben findet". Meinerseits führe ich an: neuengl. *cloud* "Wolke" < altengl. *clūd*, m. "Steinmasse, Fels; Hügel".

4. (Pāli: schon bei R. C. CHILDERS, *A dictionary of the Pali language* (London 1875), s.v. *jimūta*, jedoch nicht mehr im *Pali-English Dictionary* der Pali Text Society).—Präkrit: Shatadhvani the Jaina Muni Shri Ratnachandraji Maharaj, *An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi dictionary* 2, 1927, s. v. *jimūta*; s. auch Hargovind Das T. SHETI, *Pala-Sadda-Mahannava* 2, 1924, s. v.; Eduard SACHAU, *Indo-Arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen in der ersten Hälfte des II. Jahrhunderts* (= Philosoph. und hist. Abh. der Kgl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin. Aus dem Jahre 1888, No. I, Berlin 1889), p. 15<sup>1</sup> (*cimāto* der *Cūlikāpalāśī*). Neu-Indoarisch: weder in "The origin and development of the Bengali language" (in two parts, Calcutta 1926) unseres gefeierten Jubilars noch in Ralph Lilley TURNER'S "A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali language" (London 1931) eine Erwähnung.

5. Nichts bei: Constantin REGAMEY, *Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la civilisation et les langues de l'Inde* (Hanoi 1935), Willibald KIEFEL, *Lexis* 3, II, 1953, p. 287-285.



Die Versuche der einheimisch-indischen Grammatik und Lexikographie<sup>6</sup> müssen zwar auf sich beruhen, sind jedoch immerhin insofern beachtenswert, als die Dhātu's *jī* bzw. *jīv* die kontinuierliche Erklärungsbasis bilden, und die seit dem Veda überkommene Bedeutung "Wolke" unangetastet bleibt. Fassen wir von der damit fixierten Position aus die europäische Indogermanistik ins Auge, so gilt zunächst, dass die in erster Linie zu befragenden Fachleute das Maskulinum *jīmūta-* entweder als "unerklärt", "unklar" hinstellen<sup>7</sup> oder als "ein sehr dunkles Wort" bezeichnen.<sup>8</sup> Trotzdem sind einige Anläufe gemacht worden, *jīmūta-* zu erklären und seiner sprachgeschichtlichen Dunkelheit zu entreissen. Wenigstens einen davon hat A. DEBRUNNER a.a.O. gebucht, wo wir lesen: "zu v. *jihmā-* 'schräg, schief' BENFEY 168".<sup>9</sup> Aber J. WACKERNAGELS Lehrer, BENFEY, hat auch noch an einer zweiten Stelle seiner "Grammatik" *jīmūta-* behandelt: p. 249 (§ 623), wo er das Wort unter "anomale Zusammensetzungen" einreicht, ein Analyse-Prinzip, das auch schon an der erstgenannten Stelle angedeutet worden war (*jī-mūta-*). Während BENFEYS Kombination mit dem vieldiskutierten ved. adj. *jihmā-* heute, nach über hundert Jahren, als unbrauchbar bewertet werden muss und, soviel ich sehe, keinen Verteidiger mehr unter den Fachgenossen gefunden hat, ist die Kompositionsthese nicht weniger noch als dreimal, und zwar unabhängig von BENFEY, vertreten worden, obwohl ihr seit H. GRASSMANNs, freilich mit ? versehenem, Ansatz "*jīmū-ta*"<sup>10</sup> der linguistische Boden eigentlich bereits längst hätte entzogen sein sollen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist zuerst H. BRUNNHOFER zu nennen, der, BB. 26, 1901, p. 85 f. unserem Wort eine Art kleiner Monographie gewidmet hat, die sich auf folgende Thesen reduzieren lässt: *jīmūta-* sei aus "*jyā-mūta-*, "zusammengezogen . . In *jī*", abzuleiten und bedeute ursprünglich "von der Bogensehne abgeschnellt". In dem zweiten Bestandteil dieses Kompositums, *o-mūta-*, liege das partic. perf. pass. der Wurzel *mīv* "bewegen, schieben"

6. Wörterb. z. B. H. H. WILSON, *A dictionary in Sanscrit and English* (Calcutta 1832<sup>7</sup>), s. v.; Theodor ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* (Berlin 1883), p. 76 u.; H. BRUNNHOFER, BB. 26, 1901, p. 85 m.; Vaman Shivram Apte, *The practical Sanskrit-English dictionary* (Bombay 1924<sup>8</sup>), s.v.; Bruno LIEBIG, *Kāṭhāraṅgī, Kṣīrasvāmin's Kommentar zu Paninis Dhātupāṭha* (Breslau 1930), p. 87 m.; Kshitis Chandra CHATTERJEE, *The Calcutta Or. J.* 2, 1934-1935 p. 92 o.; Albert DEBRUNNER in "Jacob Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik. Bd. II, 2. Die Nominalsuffixe" (Göttingen 1954), p. 499 o. (§325).

7. So C. C. UHLENBECK, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wb. der altindischen Sprache* (Amsterdam 1898/1899), s.v. (ohne "Nachträge und Berichtigungen"), ebenso Albert DEBRUNNER, a.a.O. p. 777 m. (§ 629), während ebd. p. 489 o. (§ 325) von dem "Ausgang [-ūta-] des unklaren Wortes" die Rede ist.

8. J. N. RUYER, KZ. 31, 1892, p. 598.

9. D.h. THEOPHIL B., *Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache* (Leipzig 1852), § 416 (CCLV).

10. Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda (Leipzig 1873), p. 1706, Sp. 2 o. von r.



vor, wobei Br. an das aus dem Dialog zwischen Yama und Yamī geläufige, gleichfalls ṛgvedische adj. *kāma-mūta-* (X 10, 11<sup>c</sup>) erinnert. Auf die von Br., a.a.O. p. 86 o. gestellte Frage: "Wie nun aber das adjektiv *jīmūta* zu der substantivbedeutung 'gewitterwolke' gekommen sein mag?", antwortet der Autor mit einer gerade bei ihm nicht überraschenden Erläuterung, der man ebensoviel Kühnheit wie blühende Phantasie zuerkennen muss. Die Bedeutung "Gewitterwolke" nämlich sei von "brahmanisirten iranischen vedainterpreten" aufgefasst worden "als eine zusammensetzung von zendischem *zim* . . . = *zima* (= skt. *hima*) der winter, und dem sanskritischen *ūḍha* 'hergeführt' partic. praet. von w. *vah*, führen, tragen, also 'vom Winter herbeigeführt', was dann auf die gewitterwolke bezogen wurde". Ich übergehe den an die dunkelsten Phasen abendländischer Wortforschung gemahnenden iranistischen Part<sup>11</sup> dieser Deutung mit Nachsicht, nicht minder ihren interpretatorischen Teil<sup>12</sup> und befasse mich statt dessen nur mit drei Einzelproblemen der intern vedischen Grammatik: dem Wort-Vorkommen des Nomens *jīmūta-*, dem dazugehörigen Akzent und, letztens, dem Kompositions- Verhalten des Substantivs *jyā-*, i. "Bogensehne". Die Ergebnisse liegen zurhand. Wenn Br. meint: "Das wort *jīmūta* 'gewitterwolke', das sich nur [Hessorhebung Br.'s] auf die vorliegende stelle [Rgv. VI 75, 1<sup>a</sup>] oder vielmehr auf die uralte missdeutung dieser stelle stützt, ist eine homunculusexistenz", so wird diese Meinung gründlich widerlegt: nicht nur durch die bereits eingangs Anm. 1 aufgeführten ausser-ṛgvedischen, Br. offensichtlich unbekannt gebliebenen *jīmūta*-Belege des Veda, denen die im PW. gebuchten Simplex-Stellen aus *Mahābhārata* und *Rāmāyaṇa* gut abrundend sich anfügen, sondern ebenso einwandfrei auch durch die vorhandenen altindoarischen Komposita mit *jīmūta-*° als Vorderglied. Ich zitiere *jīmūta-svana-*, m. "Donner" (pw.), *jīmūta-prabha-*, adj. "vom Aussehen einer Gewitterwolke, Kauṭ. 77, 1" (Richard SCHMIDT, Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung von Otto BÜTLINGK, Leipzig 1928, s.v.) sowie schliesslich *jīmūta-parṣṇi-*, "aus einer (vorübergehenden)

11. Gegen die Uebersetzung eines Albrecht WESER "von Liebe verwirrt" für *kāma-mūta-* wendet Br. eigens ein, a.a.O. p. 85 u.: "was vielmehr *kāma- mūḍha-* erfordern würde, ohne sich Rechenschaft zu geben, wie problematisch allein schon durch diesen seinen kritischen Einwand die Lehnthese "*zim-ūḍha-* > *jīmūta-* wird.

12. Gegenüber Br.'s Uebersetzung, a.a.O. p. 85 u.: "Es ist das bild eines von der bogensehne abgeschnittenen (pfelles), wenn der panzerheld sich in den schoos des schlachtgetümmels stürzt", ist gebührend daran zu erinnern, dass *yāti* nicht "stürzt" heisst, und dass "in den schoos" die gleiche Umbiegung zugunsten der vorgefassten Meinung-*jīmūta-* = von der Bogensehne abgeschnelli- verrät. Ebenso wenig stimmt Br.'s Satz: "Das gleichnis passt auch zu dem ganzen, vornehmlich die kraft der bogensehne verherrlichenden inhalt des schlachtiledes" (ebd. p. 85 u.), wie ein Blick auf die von GOLDNER 2, p. 176 m. referierte Verwendungsweise des Waffensegens beim *Aśvamedha* und im *Aśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* schlüssig veranschaulicht.



Gewitterwolke Regen entsendend" (pw.; z.B. Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa II 19, 7). Namentlich durch das letzte, ebenfalls bereits dem altertümlichen (Prosa-) Veda angehörige Beispiel wird Br.'s Fehlmeinung drastisch korrigiert.<sup>13</sup> Genau das Gleiche muss sie sich gefallen lassen bei einer Prüfung der Akzentuation. Wie die von Br. selbst im Rahmen seiner Darlegung herangezogenen rgvedischen Belege *jyā-vāja-* (III 53, 24<sup>d</sup>), "der wie eine Bogensehne schnell" (K. F. GELDER), und *kāma-mūta-* aussagen, sowie das Studium der einschlägigen Paragraphen in J. WACKERNAGEL'S klassischer Grammatik-Darstellung (2, I, 1905, §§ 83, 90, 93) erhärtet, wäre bei Br.'s Auffassung der Wortform *jīmūta-* (als eines Kompositums mit einem Verbaladjektiv auf *-ta-* im Hinterglied) die Akzentuation "*jīmūta-* zu erwarten. Denn "die Betonungsregel § 90a (Betonung des Vorderglieds) ist bei den Komposita auf *-ta-* am strengsten durchgeführt im RV., ähnlich in AV. und VS. Dann wird Betonung des Hinterglieds (und zwar wie im Simplex auf seiner Endsilbe) immer häufiger, so sehr, dass für die klassische Sprache den Grammatikern Öxytonierung als das Normale erscheint (P. 6, 2, 144)".<sup>14</sup> Es liegt auf der Hand, dass das auf dem Mittelteil seines Wortkörpers *de facto* akzentuierte, rgvedische subst. *jīmūta-* keiner dieser beiden Regelungen zugeschlagen werden kann, folglich auch kein aus zwei Wortgliedern zusammengefügt Kompositum ist. Aus der gleichen Einsicht heraus urteilt J. N. REUTER, a.a.O. p. 598: "[*jīmūta-*] gehört wohl gar nicht hierher" [d.h. unter die von R. monographisch behandelten "altindischen nominalcomposita"]. Das Schlusstück meiner ablehnenden Beweisführung besteht in dem ebenso leicht nachprüfbaren Factum, dass kein einziges weiteres Beispiel der von Br. *ad hoc* behaupteten Reduktion \**jī-* < *jyā-* existiert hat, sondern dass die vorhandenen Belege allesamt unverändertes *jyā-* im Vorderglied zeigen (: *jyā-kārā-*, m. "Sehnenmacher"; *jyā-ghoṣā-*, m. "das Klingen der Bogensehne"; *jyā-pāśā-*, m. "Bogensehne"; dazu obiges *jyā-vāja-*, adj. "die Schnellkraft der Bogensehne habend", nebst den beiden nicht akzentuierten Beispielen *jyā-kṛṣṭi-*, f. "das Spannen der Bogensehne" und *jyā-hroḍa-*, m. "ein eigentümlicher, zum Schiessen sich nicht eignender Bogen".<sup>15</sup> Mit der endgültigen Abqualifizierung der Brunnhofer'schen *jīmūta*-Analyse lässt sich ohne weiteres auch diejenige A. B. KEITHS erledigen, die in Harvard Oriental Series 19, 1914, p. 496<sup>15</sup> sich angedeutet

13. Unergiebig bleibt das Vṛddhi-Derivat *jaimūta-*, das zwar belegt ist, jedoch nur zu *jīmūta-* in der pw.-Bedeutung 9 "N. pr. verschiedener Männer" aussagt.

14. "Ganz selten" und "vereinzelt" erscheinen im Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa *sadyo-bhṛta-* und *kṛtsa-vṛta-* (Wackernagel, a.a.O. p. 225 u., 228; das plene wiedergegebene Zitat ebd. p. 225, 3. Abs. von u).

15. J. W. HAUSER, Der Vṛātya. Untersuchungen über die nicht-brahmanische Religion Altindiens I, 1927, p. 73 f., 92 u. und f., 93<sup>117</sup>, 101 o. wechselt zwischen den Lesarten *jyā-hroḍa-* und *jyā- hroḍa-* ab.



findet (ji-mūta-), wobei hauptsächlich eine problematische Lesart der Taittiriya-Saṁhitā<sup>16</sup> zur Erörterung steht, ohne dass KEITH auf die besonderen semasiologisch-morphologischen Fragen der Wortform jimūta- überhaupt eingegangen wäre. Von K. F. JOHANSSONS Versuch, IF. 14, 1903, p. 320 u. 321 o., kann dies zwar nicht behauptet werden, trotzdem verdient aber seine, ebenfalls noch einmal von ji-mūta- ausgehende und an Sanskritworte<sup>17</sup> wie mustā-, mustaka- anknüpfende Analyse so gut wie kein Vertrauen: einmal interpretiert J. seinen ersten Kompositionsbestandteil ji-<sup>2</sup> mit keinem Wort. Sodann hat er seiner Anknüpfung nicht etwa die literarisch frühest überlieferte Bedeutung "Wetter-, Gewitterwolke" zugrundegelegt, sondern lediglich die lexikographisch<sup>18</sup> bezeugte "*Cyperus rotundus*". Schliesslich bleiben die bei der vorstehenden Analyse unweigerlich sich anmeldenden Probleme des Lautverhältnisses (Präkritisismus, Hyper-sanskritisismus, fehlendes -h-) sowie der Lautchronologie gänzlich unberücksichtigt. Angesichts dieser Umstände wird es wohl kaum Zufall sein, dass der Autor selbst seine Kombination mit "vermutlich" bewertet und abschliessend meint: "Wo diese Wörter weiter unterzubringen sind, ist nicht leicht zu sagen". Soweit die von Th. BENFEY über H. BRUNNHOFER und K. F. JOHANSSON bis zu A. B. KEITH laufenden Bemühungen, mit jimūta- mittels der Aufgliederung ji-mūta- ins Reine zu kommen. Es dürfte wohl keinem vernünftigen Zweifel unterliegen, dass diese Bemühungen die wortgeschichtliche Situation des Substantivs jimūta- insgesamt wesentlich mehr vernebeln als aufklären, ja zu einem guten Teil geradenwegs ins Grundlose führen.

Festeren Boden unter die Füße gewinnen wir mit Hilfe der zwei -letzten Endes auf H. GRASSMANN zurückführenden (s.o.)- Versuche, jimūta- von seinem Eingangslautbild her zu verstehen. Es sind dies Ansätze Herbert PETERSSONS und Wilhelm OEHLs, die jedoch beide von Vorgängern nichts wissen, sondern -wie C. C. UHLENBECK und A. DEBRUNNEN- jimūta- gleichfalls, wenn auch nur zunächst wenigstens, als "unerklärt" ansehen. H. PETERSSON tut dies in seinen "Etymologischen Miszellen" (= Lunds Universitets

16. *yāvatmūtām / yāvatmūtām / yāvatyūtām* und dergl. in VI 1, 8, 4. K. hält *yāvatmūtām* für "the correct reading", übersetzt aber nichtadestoweniger mit dem Kommentar, wie wenn *ghytenūplutam* dastünde.

17. *muste-*, m., n., *mustā-*, f. "ein Gras, *Cyperus rotundus*", "(als N. wohl 'die Wurzel dieses Grases', K. F. JOHANSSON a.a.O.) und *mustaka-*, m., n. nebst *mustakā-*, f. dass., dazu als m. lexikographisch "ein bestimmtes vegetabilisches Gift". Laut RICHARD SCHMIDT, a.a.O. s.v. bedeutet auch bereits *mustā-* "eine Giftpflanze." Die vorstehend zitierten Worte leitet J. in der für ihn charakteristischen Weise < \*mut-to- ab, was ich meinerseits nachdrücklich bezweifle.

18. Es handelt sich um Rājānighaṇṭu VI 140, einen "zwischen 1235 und 1250" n. Chr. (laut M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur 3, 1920, p. 554 o.) entstandenen Text des Narahari aus Kaschmir.



Ärasskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 19. No. 6, 1923), wo er, p. 9 (No. 10), den Stamm \*jīmū- oder \*jīma- an armenisches Zubehör anschliesst. Da dieses armenische Material seinerseits auf idg. \*gīmo- basiert, das altindoarische jīmūta- jedoch, wie die folgenden Darlegungen zeigen, durch idg. Labiovelar eingeleitet wird, muss PETERSSONS Analyse als unzutreffend ausgeschieden werden, umso mehr, als er auch "nicht ganz genau sagen" kann, "welcher Begriff an die Wurzel \*gī- geknüpft war". Den labiovelaren Anlaut unter Ansatz eines Themas \*gīm- stellt unzweideutig und, soviel ich sehe, als erster heraus: Wilhelm OEHl, *Anthropos* 18-19, 1923-1924, p. 875 u. bzw. 876 m. indem er *expressis verbis* sowohl sanskr. *jīvā-* wie auch die ihm nächstverwandten latein. *vīvus*, got. *gius* und litau. *gyvas* zitiert. Wenn OEHl unmittelbar darnach diesen richtig eingeschlagenen Weg aber verlässt und einen vor-idg. Typus *kam* postuliert, der seinerseits wiederum mit dem "einfachen Binnentypus *mak*" via Metathese verwandt sein und darüber hinaus auch noch Beziehungen zu den "Wurzeln *migh* und *mugh*" bzw. deren a.a.O. vorgeführtem idg./ausser-idg. Material aufweisen soll, so muss die Verantwortung für diese Art Kombinationen im Bereiche "elementarer Wortschöpfung" ausschliesslich ihrem Urheber aufgebürdet werden.

Ich für meine Person wenigstens vermag ihm hierin nicht mehr zu folgen, sondern ziehe es vor, statt dessen bei der Position anzusetzen, bis zu der uns H. GRASSMANN, H. PETERSSON und W. OEHl mit ihren Teillösungen jīmū-ta- bzw. \*jīmū- und \*gīm- geführt haben. Es ist die Position der Stammbildung oder, speziell fixiert, das Doppel-Problem, ob es im Altindoarischen und darüber hinaus -mu- Themen gibt, und ob diese auch in einem einheitlichen Bedeutungs-Verband zusammengefasst werden können. Die beiden Teilfragen dieses speziellen Problems lassen sich positiv beantworten. Innerhalb des Altindoarischen gehören hieher: *ṛgved.* (VII 20, 9<sup>b</sup>) *stāmū-* "das Seufzen, ängstliches Flehen" (GRASSMANN) oder etwa "brüllend, donnernd" (pw.);<sup>19</sup> altindoar. *ūlmuka-*, n. "Feuerbrand";<sup>20</sup> *ṛgved.*

19. A. DEMUNIER, a.a.O. p. 777 o. (§ 626); *stāmū-* ist der einzige hier aufgeführte (und deshalb von mir vorangestellte) Beleg der -mu- Themen. Auch H. OLDENBERG, a.a.O. 2, 1912, p. 24 m. meint: "das .... Suffix -mu finde ich im Altind. nicht". Wenn O. ebd. "die für *stāmū* vorgeschlagenen etymologischen Kombinationen (s. UHLENBECK)" als "nichts Sicheres oder besonders Wahrscheinliches" beurteilt, so scheint mir diese Äusserung gegen über dem von UHLENBECK, a.a.O. s.v. an erster Stelle verglichenen griech. *συνήμιλος* "mundfertig, geschwätzig, artig plaudernd" wenig gerechtfertigt. Auch E. BOISSACQ, *Dict. étymologique de la langue Grecque* (Heidelberg-Paris 1916), s.v. und J. B. HOFMANN, *Etymologisches Wb. des Griechischen* (München 1949), s.v. stimmen, wenn auch mit geringfügigen Bedenken, zu. Darin hat O. jedoch Recht: "Die Dhātup. wzl. *stom-* bildet recht fragwürdige Grundlage" (ebd.).

20. Von DEMUNIER, a.a.O. p. 777 (§ 627) als einziges Beispiel des Ausgangs -muka- aufgeführt. Die Analyse kann jedoch, wie oben zu sehen, mit äusserster Trennschärfe



*Krāmu-*, f.n.pr. eines westlichen Zuflusses des Indus, der seit Christian LASSEN<sup>21</sup> mit dem in Ostafghanistan, südöstlich Kabul, entspringenden *Kurram* identifiziert wird; altindoar. *krumuká-* m. "Span zum Auffangen

durchgeführt werden und liefert damit auch einen sprach- wie sachgeschichtlich passenden Ausgangspunkt: es ist idg. \**aulo-* "Röhre, längliche Höhlung," die, wie namentlich die norwegischen Belege bei J. Pokorny, Idg. etymologisches Wb. (Bern 1948), p. 89 o. veranschaulichen, als ertümlicher Feuerbehälter gedient hat; vergl. auch die -m- Bildungen bei WALTER-POKORNY, Vergleichendes Wb. der idg. Sprachen I (Berlin und Leipzig 1930), p. 295 f. s.v. "J. *gel-* 'drängen, pressen, zusammendrängen, einschliessen'". Richtig beurteilt Manfred MAYMORR, Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wb. des Altindischen (Heidelberg 1954), p. 112 u. die bisher geäußerten Kombinationen s.v. *ūmwaka-* mit Skepsis.

21. Indische Alterthumskunde 12, 1867, p. 37 m.; vgl. auch Heinrich ZIMMER, Altindisches Leben. Die Cultur der vedischen Arier nach den Samhitā dargestellt (Berlin 1879), p. 14 u.; Arthur A. Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith, Vedic index of names and subjects 1, 1912, p. 199; Nundo Lal Dey, The geographical dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India (London 1927<sup>2</sup>), p. 105 o., 105 u., 342 u.; A. D. POSALKER in "The Vedic Age" (London 1951), p. 242 u. Wenn Heinz-JÜRGEN PINNOW in seiner an sich verdienstlichen, sprachgeschichtlich aber bedauerlich oft ungenügend fundierten Doktordissertation "Zu den altindischen Gewässernamen" (= Beiträge zur Namenforschung 4, 1953, p. 217-224 und 5, 1954, p. 1-19), a.a.O. p. 233 u. den Flussnamen *Krāmu-* unter "einige gänzlich unerklärte Namen" einreicht oder, ebd. p. 11 u., meint, *Krāmu-* gehöre zu den auf -ū- auslautenden Flussnamen des nordwestlichen Indien, die "im Sanskrit . . . gar keine Bedeutung" haben, so treffen beide Behauptungen keineswegs zu. Denn *Krāmu-* kann einwandfrei in seinem idg. Rückbezug durch morphologisch-semanticologische Differential-Analyse zusammengebracht werden mit den besonders im Altnordischen bezeugten -m- führenden Belegen des idg. \*(s)q(o) *rey* / \*(s)q(o) *rey*, von denen *skraumi* m. "Schreier, Schwätzer", *skrum*, n. "Geschwätz" neben älter dän. *skrummel* "Lärm", norweg. mundartl. *skrumla* "einen hohlen Ton von sich geben", nordfries. *skrummel* "Getöse, Geräusch, Gerücht" und ndh. *schrummeln* "donnern" vornehmlich genannt seien; (für die Beispiele s. J. Pokorny, a.a.O. p. 570 u.—571 o.; Ferdinand HOLTHAUSEN, Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wb. des Altwestnordischen, Göttingen 1948, s. vv; FALK-TOFF, Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wb. 2, 1911, p. 1032). Eine dem ved. *Krāmu-* noch näherstehende, weil s-lose Form tritt in altnord. *krumr* "zerbrechlich", dazu in altsächsa. *hrōm*, n. "Lärm, Geschrei" zutage, denen langobardisches *romire*, als Lehnwort im Italienischen bewahrt (F. HOLTHAUSEN, Altenglisches etymologisches Wb., Heidelberg 1934, p. 423 o.), sich zurseits stellt. Ueber die unzweifelhafte, reichhaltige Vertretung der Dhātu's \**qar* (𑀧) / *qer* im Altindoarischen unterrichtet Pokorny, a.a.O. p. 530 u.—531 o., p. 567 u.—571 u., während der semantiche Bezug zwischen einem Flussnamen und Bezeichnungen des "Schreiens, Lärmens, Törens, Donnerens" so geläufig ist, dass sich weitere Ausführungen erübrigen (immerhin s. Anton MAYER, Mélanges Emile Boisacq, Bruxelles 1938, p. 139 u.—140 o.). Richtig versteht M. MAYMORR, a.a.O. p. 280 seine eigene Zusammenstellung mit *kṛni-*, m. "Wurm, Made" mit "??". Ueber die zu *Krāmu-* überlieferte durchsichtige Variante *Kramu-*, die im Gegensatz zur hochaltertümlichen Vorlage gängigen Anhalt an Dhātu *kram* hat, s. die nächste Anm.



des Feuers, wenn dieses aus den Reibhölzern hervorbricht"<sup>22, 23</sup> Aus dem Altiranischen schliesst sich das singuläre<sup>24</sup> jungavestische masc. *garōmu-*, "Hitze" an, während das Griechische beisteuert: *ῥοῖμός*, seit Homer, "scharf, durchdringend, herb, bitter";<sup>25</sup> *ῥοῖμος* m., genit *ῥοῖμος*, "ein Fisch" (Hesych; Nebenform *ῥοῖμος*); *ῤοῖμος*, *ῤοῖμος*, n. pr. von Personen (mit Bezug zu einem eindeutig akustischen Bereich des

22. Angesichts der schlagenden Parallele altindoar. *mūmura-*, m. "eine verglimmende Kohle, Hülsefeuer, brennende Hülse" / *Murmura-*, f. n. pr. eines Flusses muss ein unmittelbares, auch durch den Akzent gewährleistet Derivatverhältnis zwischen *Krūmu-* und *kramukā-* vertreten werden, zumal auch sonst im Idg. "das Wallen erregten Wassers .. die Alten gern dem Breimen und Sieden verglichen" (Kluge-Götze, Etymologisches Wb. der deutschen Sprache, Berlin 1953<sup>16</sup>, p. 97, Sp. r.u. unter Verweis auf latein. *aestus*, -ūs, m. "Hitze, Glut, Brandung"; auch an nhd. *Brand* / *Brandung*, *Feuermeer* und dergl. mehr mag erinnert werden). Wenn UHLANDER, a.a.O. s.v. und in seinem Gefolge FRANKLIN EDGARON, *The K-suffixes of Indo-Iranian. Part I: The K-suffixes in the Veda and Avesta* (Leipzig 1911), p. 84 o. sowie MAYRHOFER, a.a.O. s.v., mehr oder minder zuversichtlich, an altindoar. *kramūka-*, m. "ein bestimmter Baum" bzw. *kramuka-*, m. "Beteleusbaum" anknüpfen und Entlehnung aus dem Mittel-Indoarischen oder ein "Dialektwort" voraussetzen, so kann diese Annahme höchstens sekundärer, innerindoarischer Natur sein und müsste erst zusammen mit Zweier- bzw. Dreiergruppierungen wie *astīrud-* / *astīrud-*, *Krūmu-* / *Kramu-* (s. Willibald KUFER, *Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Bonn und Leipzig 1920, Register s.v.; s. auch Anm. 21 in obigem Text), *bhrakūti-* / *+ bhrakūti-* / *bhrakūti* (frdl. Hinweis Karl HOFFMANN) durchdiskutiert werden. Den komplexen Sachverhalt durch die austro-asiatische These zu vereinfachen, wie dies F.B.J. KUFER, *Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit*, Amsterdam 1948, p. 108 u. für den letztgenannten Fall vorschlägt, genügt ebensowenig, wie die in ihrem Ursprung vor-altindoarische Paarung *Krūmu-* / *kramukā-* davon berührt wird. In Louis RENOU's "Vocabulaire du rituel Védique" (Paris 1954) sucht man *kramukā-* vergebens.

23. Nicht berücksichtigt worden sind innerhalb des Alt-Indoarischen: *ṛgved. Cūmuri-*, m. n.pr. eines Dämons, das wohl als *Cūm-ur-* (mit A. DEMMEKE, a.a.O. p. 488 m. = § 310 b) zu analysieren ist, weil es m.E. von altindoar. *cumucumāyana-*, n. "das Zucken, Jucken (einer Wunde)" nicht getrennt werden kann, wobei die von J. WACKERNAECK, H. BRUNNHOFF und Anderen erörterte fremdländische Herkunft zunächst auf sich beruhen mag; altindoar. *tumula-*, adj. und m., n. "geräuschvoll, lärmend; Lärm, verworrenes Geschrei", dessen Mittelstück "-mul-" teils wegen seines Silbengrenze-Verbandes teils wegen seiner lautlichen Provenienz als mehrdeutig beurteilt werden muss; ved. *egmu-*, Korruptel statt *ugmā-*, wobei gemäss BLOOMFIELD-EDGERTON, *Vedic Variants* 2, 1932, p. 381 u. "true reading probably *gatum*" ist, immerhin aber auch durch die korumpierte *varietas lectionis* eine gewisse Lebendigkeit des suffixalen Formans -mu- nahe gelegt wird.

24. Christian BASTIENLOMAK, *Altiranisches Wb.* (Strassburg 1904), Sp. 1974, Col. r.o.; hiehergezogen zum ersten Mal, wenn auch fragend, von OLSENBERG, a.a.O. 2, 1912, p. 24 m.

25. Bei griech. *ῥοῖμός* ist wegen seines Form-Verbandes mit \**ḡuṃu-* > *jimā-ta* weder Annahme einer Ausgangsform \**ῥοῖμός* noch Annahme einer Einwirkung von *oḡῥῥῥῥ* her erforderlich: dies gegen J. B. HOFFMANN, a.a.O. p. 64 o. und POLOVNY, a.a.O. p. 298 u.



"Wieherns, Knirschens, Klatschens, Knarzens, Sich-Räusperns"; morphologisch bemerke man besonders die bereits o. Ann. 19 gewürdigte Paarung *rgved. stāmū-* / griech. *στομύλος*).<sup>26</sup> Im Rückblick auf die kleine, nichtsdestoweniger aber fest zusammenhängende Form-Verbandsgruppe der altindoarisch-altiranisch-griechischen *-mu-* Themen ergibt sich von selbst die Feststellung, dass -wie oben gefordert- "diese auch in einem einheitlichen Bedeutungs-Verband zusammengefasst werden können": sein situatives, nicht oberbegriffliches, Zentrum ist letzten Endes offensichtlich in einem (Feuer-) Hitze-Feuchtigkeits-Erlebnis mit entsprechendem akustischem Schwerpunkt gelagert.

Die Problematik der Stammbildung des altindoarischen masc. *jīmūta-* wird zweckmässig abgeschlossen durch Darlegungen über das sekundäre, denominale, suffixale Nominalformans *-ta-*. Für seine Interpretation fällt dem Griechischen entscheidende Bedeutung zu, da das Altindoarische, gemäss A. DEBRUNNER, a.a.O. p. 588 o. (§ 438), solche Funktion des *-ta-* "nur vereinzelt und weniger häufig als in mehreren verwandten Sprachen" kennt. Im Griechischen nun sind innerhalb der hierher gehörigen *-to-* Bildungen eine Anzahl *Masculina* überliefert, die zunächst unter sich und darnach mit altindoar. *jīmūta-* einen Genus- sowie Bedeutungs-Verband bilden, der ebenfalls eindeutig ist, nur dass dabei eine rein meteorologische Tönung unverkennbar mitschwingt. Es sind dies: *νιπετός* "fallender Schnee", *παγετός* "Eis", *πνιγετός* "erstickende Hitze", *πυρετός* "brennende Hitze", *συγυετός* "Tropfen", *ύετός* "starker Regen" und *φλογοτός* "Brand, Hitze". Dank Wilhelm SCHULZE, Kleine Schriften (Göttingen 1934), p. 75<sup>3</sup> und 129 sowie Eduard SCHWYZER, a.a.O. p. 501 o. heisst bekanntlich die spezielle Funktion solcher Idg. *\*-to-* Nomina augmentativ, und W. SCHULZE hat bereits 1908 im gleichen Zusammenhang auf griech. *u'eros*, m. "Adler" /latein. *avis*, f. "Vogel" wie nicht minder auf litau. *vėtkas* m. "Wolf"/litau. *vėtkatas*, m. "Werwolf" aufmerksam gemacht. "Das Suffix *-eto-* charakterisiert offenbar den Adler als grossen Vogel, den Werwolf als ein besonders furchtbares Wesen" (a.a.O. p. 75<sup>3</sup>). Das Fazit ergibt sich an diesem Punkte des Gedankenganges eigentlich von selbst. Es tritt erneut, nur diesmal mit wohl zwingender Argumentation, in einem Stamme *\*jīmu-*

26. *πάλλω*, genit. *-υ(δ)ος*, m. "König" ist Lehnwort aus dem Lydischen: J. B. HORMANN, a.a.O. a. v. sowie Eduard SCHWYZER, Griechische Grammatik 1 (München 1939), p. 495 m. P. CHANTRAINE, La formation des noms en Grec ancien (Paris 1933) liefert keine eigene Analyse der *-mu-* Themen (s. jedoch a. a. O. p. 120 m. über die "alternance consonantique" des Paares *κρόμω/χρόμω*). Das obige Material ist entnommen aus KRETSCHEMER-LOCKER, Rückläufiges Wb. der griechischen Sprache (Göttingen 1944), p. 534, 1. Sp. von 1. u. 2. Sp. von 1. o.



hervor, der -ohne dass wir die sprachgeschichtliche Logik zu überfordern brauchen- soviel wie "Wolke" bedeutet und augmentativ, wofür das griechisch-litauische Material hinreichende Bürgschaft bietet, durch denominales \*-to-/-ta- zur Bedeutung "Wetter-, Gewitterwolke" angereichert wird. Die der Erklärung noch bedürftige Längung des Thema-Vokals -u- ist entweder nach inner-altindoarischen Analogien (der -āta-, -āra-, āla- usw. Themen) oder -mich überzeugender- gemäss der Baugesetzlichkeit der idg. \*-ūto- Klasse zu beurteilen. Denn dieser liegen, wie die altindoarisch-baltoslavisch-griechischen und besonders reichhaltig im Lateinischen vertretenen Materialien<sup>27</sup> beweisen, durchweg -u- Nomina als Ausgangsbasis zugrunde.

Was auf die vorstehend vorgetragene zweifache Stammbildungsanalyse noch einen Rest-Anspruch auf Berücksichtigung hat, sind ein paar knappe Betrachtungen zur Frage, welcher letzterreichbare Kern in dem altindoarischen Substantivum *jīmūta-* stecke, Betrachtungen, welche die eingangs charakterisierten Versuche der einheimisch-indischen Grammatik und Lexikographie noch einmal aufnehmen wollen, hiebei grundsätzlich von der situativen Einheitlichkeit der bei Pokorny, a.a.O. p. 467 o. — 470 u. in fünf Lemmata aufgespaltenen \**gʷei*(*ə*) / \**gʷēi* ausgehen<sup>28</sup> und insgesamt dartun, dass altindoar. *jīmūta-* auch dhātumässig keineswegs so isoliert dasteht, wie es vielleicht angesichts der missglückten Versuche eben jener *Vaiyākaraṇas* den Anschein haben könnte. Zugleich verlaufen diese Betrachtungen nicht ohne Ueberraschung. Denn es bezeugt uns merkwürdigerweise das gleiche Altindoarische noch zwei andere Substantiva, *jīna-* und *jīla-*, m., die man gerade wegen ihrer Bedeutung "Schlauch" kaum von *jīmūta-* wird loslösen wollen. Beide werden von Pokorny, a.a.O. p. 469 auf \**gʷēi* oder *gʷēiə* in der Nullstufe \**gʷi* zurückgeführt. Die gleiche Nullstufe \**gʷi*, nur vermehrt um das von Pokorny und Anderen so genannte "m-Formans", tritt aber, nicht minder merkwürdig, noch einmal an anderer Stelle auf: in dem zum Niederdeutschen

27. Hieher bspw. altindoar. *ulāta-*, m. "boa constrictor"; baltoslav. \**kārūta-*, n. "Mulde, Trog" (s. Erich Berneker, Slavisches etymologisches Wb. 1, Heidelberg 1924, p. 579 m.); litau. Eigennamen *Obērūtai* (s. Jan ORAŠKIS, Lingua Posnaniensis 1, 1949, p. 230 sowie 2, 1950, p. 28); griech. *κοκκυρός*, m. "Wehklage"; latein. *urgātus* "helltänend, scharfsichtig, deutlich ausgeprägt", *cornātus* "gehört", *hirsātus* "struppig, rauh, stachelig", *statūtus* "aufgestellt", *tribūtus* "zugeteilt", *verātum*, n. "Spieß" und *volūtus* "gewälzt, gerollt, gedreht".

28. Das Aktionssyndrom besteht aus folgenden Stücken (mit Pokornys Bedeutungsangaben): "überwältigen, Gewalt, gewaltsam niederdrücken"—"zusammendrücken, einschliessen, einpfierchen (?)"—"klagen, jammern (?)"—"leben, Leben"—"Haut, Fell (?)" (unmittelbar von dem in Hege genommenen Tier, darnach von der Frau).



gehörigen, manchen Archaismus bewahrenden Westfälischen, und zwar in dem Verbum *kwīmen* "kränke(n)" sowie dem Adjektivum *kwīmelig* "verweicht",<sup>29</sup> Lässt schon die unmittelbar an das altindoeuropäische *jimūta*-anknüpfende morphologische Eigentümlichkeit aufhorchen, weil das -m- in der Nominalbildung des gesamten \*gʷeǵ(ə)/\*gʷēi- Bereiches äusserst spärlich erscheint,<sup>30</sup> so gilt dies in womöglich noch höherem Grade von den Bedeutungen. Friedrich WöSTER bucht in seinem "Wb. der westfälischen Mundart" (Norden und Leipzig 1882), p. 153, Sp. r.u.- und die Neubearbeitung durch ERICH NÖRRENBERG (Norden und Leipzig 1930) ändert daran nichts: für *kwīmelig* "verweicht, der dessen Körper leicht nachteilige Einflüsse erhält", dazu für *kwīmen* "kränklich, schwächlich sein". Diese Angaben<sup>31</sup> werden durch einen Sprecher eben dieses Dialektes dahingehend ergänzt, dass ostfälisch (Gegend von Hildesheim) *kwīmen* ihm seit seiner Kindheit als Verbum auch mit der Bedeutung "begehrliches, unterdrücktes Jaulen hervorbringen (von Hunden) und unzufrieden herumrörgeln (von kleinen Kindern)" geläufig sei. Ueberdenkt man diese Angaben und in ihnen wiederum den akustischen Schwerpunkt, den *kwīmen* mit der o. analysierten idg. -mu- Gruppe immer noch gemein hat, dann fällt es m.E. schwer, die wirklich auffallende semantische Parallele zu unterdrücken, die zwischen altindoeur. *jimūta*- "Wetter-, Gewitterwolke" / niederd. *kwīmelig* "verweicht" und nhd. *Wolke/welk* sich auftut. Sie wird zwar von CARL DARLING BUCK in seinem -wie hier so auch sonst viele Fragen offenlassenden- "Dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages" (Chicago 1949), p. 65 f. ("1.73 Cloud") nicht gebracht und ist, soviel wenigstens ich sehe, auch anderswo bisher nicht aufgestellt worden, hat aber trotzdem zwei keineswegs zu verachtende Fürsprecher auf ihrer Seite: einmal die im pw. s.v. *jimūta*-, No. 5-7 (z.T. aus der einheimischen Lexiko-

29. WALTER-POKORNY, a.a.O. 1, 1930, p. 668 o. bzw. POKORNY, a.a.O. p. 470 m.

30. So z. B. in altindoeur. *jéman-*, "Ueberlegenheit", dazu rgved. *jéman-*, adj. "siegreich, überlegen" (in dem an "unverständlichen und seltsam klingenden Wörtern" reichen Hymnus X 106, Páda 6c; K. F. Geldner, auf den das Zitat -a. a. O. 3, p. 335 o. -zurückgeht, lässt den Vers überhaupt unübersetzt, während H. OLSEN, a. a. O. p. 329 o. einen substantivischen Stamm *jéman-* vorzieht und demgemäss den Instrumental *jémanā* durch "mit Sieghaftigkeit" wiedergibt). Wie dem auch sein mag, jedenfalls scheint mir erwägenswert, dass *jimūta*- als Beiname der Sonne und (nur lexikographisch) Indras darin seine Erklärung findet.

31. Ergänzend sei auf nhd. *schwīmen* "taumeln" (s. H. PAUL, Deutsches Wb., Halle/Saale 1921, p. 472) als Reimwort zu niederd. *kwīmen* "kränklich, schwächlich sein, unzufrieden herumrörgeln" hingewiesen sowie auf altengl. *seomian* < \**simōn*, "herunterhängen (von Wolken)" (WALTER-POKORNY, a. a. O. 2, 1937, p. 463 o.; s. namentlich auch F. HOLTHAUSEN, Altenglisches etymologisches Wb. Heidelberg 1934, p. 293 u. sowie J. BOSWORTH-T. N. TOLLE, An Anglo-Saxon dictionary 2, Oxford 1898, p. 964, Sp. r. u., dazu das "Supplement", Oxford 1921, p. 702, Sp. Sp. l. m.).

graphie) beigebrachten floristischen Bedeutungen -*Lepeocercis serrata*, *Luffa foetida*, *Cyperus rotundus*,<sup>32</sup> sodann aber das den altindoarischen Sachverhalt erst aufschliessende ethnographische, m.E. viel zu wenig gewürdigte Factum, dass Wolken welken, weil sie als Pflanzen, vornehmlich aber als Gebüsch aufgefasset werden, die im Sich-Abregnen verwelken.<sup>33</sup> Es liegt nahe, mit dieser unzweifelhaft hochaltertümlichen Metapher die singuläre Altertümlichkeit in der Stammbildung des altindoarischen masc. *ḡmāta*- kausal-genetisch zu verbinden.

32. Dazu *ḡmātaka*-, m. "*Lepeocercis serrata*; eine Gurkenart" (pw.) und + *ḡmāta-māla*-, n. "*Curcuma Amhalidi* oder Zerumbet" (ebd.).

33. Dies ist, wie ich in meinen "Specimen eines etymologisch-semasiologischen Grundrisses des (Alt-, Mittel- und Jung-) Indogermanischen" p. 333 m. und f. (des druckfertigen Ma.) gezeigt habe, der tiefere Grund, nicht, wie KLUCK-GÖRZE, a. a. O. s.v. Wolke irrig meinen, dass "die Westgermanen . . von ihrem Klima, in dem sich fast jede Wolke abregnete, bestimmt [wurden], die Wolke als 'die Feuchte' zu bezeichnen".



# LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON CATURANGADĪPIKĀ OF ŚŪLAPĀṆĪ<sup>1</sup>

BY

E. D. KULKARNI, Poona

- akṣatamitra* n.9.12 an ally who is unhurt.  
*agastyavacana* n.15.19 a statement or words of Agastya.  
*agrakoṇaga* mfn. 3.9 placed in a square next to its front corner (on the board of chess).  
*aghalaghāta* m.16.20 a particular situation in the game of chess, a situation when two pieces (in the game of chess) are obstructed by one piece is called *aghalaghāta*.  
*ajñānājīrṇa* n.5.6 an indigestion in the form of ignorance.  
*atipramāda* m.5.8 a great mistake.  
*atimamatva* n.4.5 extreme interest in.  
*atīyatnena* ind. 2.3 with great efforts.  
*adharmalābha* m.13.7 incurring of the sin.  
*anyakara* m.12.11 another's hand or possession.  
*anyadāna* n.22.15 another throw (in the game of chess).  
*anyahanana* n.14.17 the act of striking another piece (in the game of chess).  
*apahārya* mfn. 12.2 to be carried off or captured.  
*apātrasiha* mfn. 14.2 not being in its proper place.  
*arakeṣayā* ind. 4.3 without caring for.  
*arī* m.17.15 an opposite party (in the game).  
*avadheya* mfn. 20.3 to be understood.  
*avasthānataḥ* ind. 18.19 in (one's own) place or position.  
*aśaucānta* m.18.12 an end of the state of impurity.  
*aśvakoṣṭhasthita* mfn. 5.16 occupying the square of the horse (in the game of chess).  
*aṣṭakoṣṭhī* f.2.9 a chess-board with groups of eight squares.  
*asandhī* m.6.1 an absence of euphonic junction of final and initial letters.  
*ātmabala* n.4.7 one's own force, one's own piece (in the game of chess).  
*ā + √nī-* 12.7 to capture.  
*ā + √ruh-* 10.10 to ascend, to occupy.  
*āryadhī* mfn. 17.16 noble-minded.

1. The vocables in this paper are not recorded by MONIER-WILLIAMS in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary or if a few of them occur, they are not used in their technical sense there. The figures relate to numbers of pages and lines of the text edited by Prof. M. GHOSH (1936).

*āvaśyakatva* n.5.17 necessity, inevitability.

*āvaśyam* ind. 14.11 necessarily.

*ukta* mfn. 12.7 declared.

*uṭhā* f. 21.14 stepping out, striking (?)

*uṭhākāle* ind. 13.9 at the time of *uṭhā*.

*uṭhāntam* ind. 22.1 till the end of *uṭhā*.

*uṭhābala* n.23.3 an *uṭhā* piece (in the game of chess).

*uṭhita* mfn. 12.5 stepped out, struck or knocked down.

*uttama* mfn. 4.2 superior, more powerful (a chess piece).

*udgāravamana* n.5.6 vomiting in the form of a statement.

*ekakoṣṭha* n.5.18 one or single square (on the chess-board).

*ekaguṇa* mfn. 10.6 onefold.

*ekatah* ind. 6.17. one by one, severally.

*ekadāna* n.22.14 one throw (in the game of chess).

*ekabala* n.13.4 one single chess-piece.

*karin* m.20.7 an elephant (in the game of chess).

*kartṛ* mfn. 6.12 a player (in the game).

*kākakāṣṭha* n.3.15 a kind of position in the game of chess, a position when a player has lost all pieces, is called *kākakāṣṭha*.<sup>2</sup>

*kimcit* 4.8 to some extent.

*kuñjara* n.3.1 an elephant (in the game of chess).

*koṇa* m.2.18 a corner (of the chess-board).

*koṇakoṣṭhadvaya* n.3.12 two squares in the corner (of the chess-board).

*koṇapada* n.15.2 a corner square (on the chess-board).

*koṇavaṭikā* f.5.15 a pawn in the corner (of the chess-board).

*koṇastha* mfn. 8.6 occupying the square at the corner (of the chess-board).

*koṣṭhaka* n.14.14 a chess square.

*koṣṭhabala* n.13.20 a piece occupying the chess square.

*koṣṭhasthitabala* n.13.20 a piece occupying the chess square.

*kṛīḍābhāṅga* m.23.17 breaking up or end of the game.

*kroḍa* m.5.13 a place or square (on the chess-board).

√*khād*- 7.12 to strike, to capture.

*khāditum* ind. 7.14 to strike or capture.

*khādya* mfn. 7.14 to be struck or captured.

*khāra* m. 9.2 a kind of capture in the game of chess.<sup>3</sup>

*gaja* m.2.15 an elephant (in the game of chess).

*gajatrayaakarṇa* n.19.11 a means of three elephants (in the game of chess).

2. Cf. *haste raṅge balaṁ nāsti kākakāṣṭhaṁ tadā bhavet.* (CD 15.10). Also cf. *pārtha sīṅhāsanaṁkāle kākakāṣṭhaṁ yadā bhavet, sīṅhāsanaṁ bhavaty eva kākakāṣṭhaṁ na vidyate* (CD 15. 17-18).

3. Cf. *ghāte 'piti sīṅhānābhāve balaṁ cet prāpyate tad balaṁ hantavyam mālhillaiś ca etai khāreṣṭkumāvaś ca kathyate.* (CD. 9. 1-2).



- gajadvandva* n.20.20 a pair of elephants (in the game of chess).  
*gajabindhana* n.19.22 an obstruction of the elephant (in the game of chess).  
*gajasamulche* ind. 4.20 in front of an elephant (in the game of chess).  
*gatāyuska* mfn. 14.6 one having lost one's life.  
*garīyas* mfn. 6.11 superior.  
*garbha* m.4.10 protection, union.  
*gādhāghātya* mfn. 15.2 to be assailed or struck by *gādhā*.  
*gādhāvaṇī* f.15.1 a kind of pawn.<sup>4</sup>  
*gautamajalpana* n.20.10 a statement of Gautama.  
*gautamabhāṣita* n.14.6 stated by Gautama.  
*gautamavacana* n.5.14 a statement of Gautama.  
*granthavid* mfn. 22.10 one knowing the *śāstra*.  
*grāmyabhāṣā* f.9.3 a village or local dialect.  
*ghātatraya* n.9.14 three points of an attack.  
*ghātadvandva* n.16.19 two points of an attack.  
*√ghātay-* 6.21 to strike or capture.  
*ghātāghāta* m.3.19 an attack and counter-attack.  
*ghātītum* ind. 7.9. to strike or capture.  
*caturaṅga* n.1.3 a kind of chess played by four parties.  
*caturaṅga* n.11.7 a kind of victory in the game of chess. (= *catūrāṇī* ?)<sup>5</sup>  
*caturaṅgakṛīḍā* f.1.5 playing at chess, the game of chess.  
*caturaṅgapaddhati* f.3.4. N. of a work.  
*caturaṅgapaddhatikāra* m.8.9 the author of the work of *Caturaṅgapaddhati*.  
*caturguṇatva* n.11.10 the state of being forefold.  
*catuṣka* n.3.1 a throw of four (in the game of chess).  
*catuṣpañca* mfn. 8.7 a throw of four and five.  
*catūrāṇī* f.2.10 an aggregate of four kings; a particular position in the game of chess, a position when one king captures three other kings.<sup>6</sup>  
*catūrāṇīkāle* ind. 19.1 at the time of *catūrāṇī*.  
*catūrāṇībhaṅga* m.19.18 disturbing or frustrating of *catūrāṇī*.  
*catūrāṇībhaṅgārtham* ind. 20.18 for the disturbance of *catūrāṇī*.  
*cālayitvā* g.5.13 having moved.  
*cālita* mfn.8.6 moved.  
*cintayitvā* g.17.2 having reflected or considered, after proper deliberation.

4. Cf. *naukaikā vaṇīkā yasya vidyate khelane yadi, pādhāvaṇī vikhyatā*..... (CD 14.21).

5. Cf. *svapadaṣṭhaṇi yadā rājā rājānaṁ hanti pārthiva, caturaṅge tadā bhūpa vāhayic ca caturguṇam* (CD. 11.6).

6. Cf. *vidyamāne nṛpe yasya svakīye ca nṛpatrayam, prāpnoti ca yadā tasya catūrāṇī tadā bhavet* (CD. 10. 17-18). *nṛpenaiva nṛpaṁ hateṣ catūrāṇī yadā bhavet* (CD. 11.3). *catūrāṇī svapadaṣṭhā catūrāṇī tu kathyate* (CD. 18.7). *yadi tasya bhaved rājaniṣ catūrāṇī ca jñāpadam, catūrāṇī bhavaty eva na tu jñāthapadam nṛpa* (CD. 15. 5-6).

- chettum* ind. 7.3. to remove the obstruction (in the game of chess).  
*jābālavacana* n.20.21 a statement of Jābāla.  
*√dḥālay-* 17.13 to cast a throw (in the game of chess).  
*tadabhāve* ind. 7.4 in the absence of that.  
*tannaya* m.19.4 that policy or procedure.  
*tari* f.2.15 a boat (in the game of chess).  
*tasmāt* ind. 2.15 after that.  
*tāikālikam* ind. 12.9 at once, immediately.  
*turaṅgama* m.3.11 a horse (in the game of chess).  
*turya* mfn. 3.6 a throw of four (in the game of chess).  
*trīya* n.3.2 a throw of three (in the game of chess).  
*tyaktvā* g.3.20 having avoided, avoiding.  
*trika* (v.l.) n.3.3, a throw of three (in the game of chess).  
*trikoṣṭhaka* n.3.11 a group of three squares (on the board of chess).  
*trivṛṣṭika* mfn. 14.18 one playing with three pawns (in the game of chess).  
*thoka* 22.10 a particular situation in the game of chess.<sup>7</sup>  
*dakṣiṇe* ind. 2.13 in the south.  
*dattvā* g.4.11 having sacrificed.  
*dattvā* (with *doṣam*) g.9.13 having imputed a fault.  
*darśayitvā* g.9.5 having seen, having surveyed.  
*daśaka* n.14.14 a throw of ten (in the game of chess).  
*daśadāṇḍa* (m) 23.12 ten *dāṇḍas* (= four hours).  
*dāna* n.5.9 a throw (in the game of chess).  
*dānadvandva* n.22.19 two throws.  
*divyamālikā* f.3.13 N. of work.  
*devasārdūla* m.2.1 the best among the gods.  
*doṣa* m.9.8 a difficulty.  
*doṣatraya* n.9.14 three faults.  
*dvaya* n.3.2 a throw of two (in the game of chess).  
*dvirāvṛtta* mfn. 18.4 two-fold.  
*dvaividha* mfn. 6.6 of two kinds.  
*dhanadhānyaśaunya* n.24.12 want of money and grain.  
*dharmajña* mfn. 4.19 skilled in the rules (of the game).  
*dharmin* mfn. 17.16 knowing the law (of the game).  
*dheḍhi* (f) 20.8 a particular situation in the game of chess.<sup>8</sup>  
*nakaḍi* f.3.17 a naval attack (in the game of chess).  
*nayataḥ* ind. 19.12 according to the policy,

7. Cf. *uṭhalkena hi kartavye dotiṣyam dānam ārabhet, dattvā tv ekam hi cānyatra hanyād ekena tad balam, uṭhān cet kārayitvā tu cānyaḍ dānam tu khelayet, tadā thokam vijñāniyād iti granthavido viduḥ* (CD 22. 7-10).

8. Cf. *pravese yadi rājñā ca karinor bindhanam bhavet tadā dheḍhin vidadhyāt* (CD. 20. 7-8).



nirdoṣa mfn. 7.15 harmless.

niṣkaṇṭakatvadarśana n.11.9 a display of security of position.

ni + √han- to strike or capture (in the game of chess).

nṛpatiśreṣṭha m.2.5 the best among the kings.

nṛpatraya n.10.17 three kings (in the game of chess).

nṛparakṣaṇa n.6.9 protection of a king (in the game of chess).

nṛpaśreṣṭha m.7.4 the best among the kings.

nṛpasattama m.10.4 the best among the kings.

nṛpākṛṣṭa n.3.14 a particular favourable position of the pieces in the game of chess.<sup>9</sup>

nṛpākṛṣṭabhaṅga m.13.7 a loss of nṛpākṛṣṭa.

nṛpākṛṣṭabhaṅgatva n.12.17 a state of destroying or losing nṛpākṛṣṭa.

naukā f.2.18 a boat (in the game of chess).

naukākrṣṭa n.3.15 a favourable position of the pieces in the games of chess.<sup>10</sup>

naukācatuṣṭaya n.16.4 four boats (in the game of chess).

naukātraya n.16.12 three boats (in the game of chess).

naukādvaya n.16.15 two boats (in the game of chess).

pañcaka n.3.1 a throw of five (in the game of chess).

paṇa n.10.7 a kind of coin.

paṇya n.10.6 stake, bet.

patti m.6.11 a pawn (in the game of chess).

patticatuṣṭaya n.2.16 four soldiers, four chess pieces,

pattipraveśa m.3.17 the pawn-promotion, a particular situation in the game of chess.<sup>11</sup>

parabala n.18.4 a chess piece belonging to the other party.

pararājavadha m. 11.9 capturing the king belonging to the other party (in the game of chess).

parasimhāsanādhikāra m.11.8 an ownership of the throne belonging to other's (kings) in the game of chess.

paścimataḥ ind. 2.14 in the west.

pātrastha mfn. 14.3 being in its proper place.

pāpagrasta mfn. 4.19 one who is in danger of being defeated (in the game).

pāpahṛī mfn. 15.16 removing the sin.

pitāmāhamanu m.19.7 the grandfather Manu.

puṇyārthīn mfn. 5.9 wishing to have a success (in the game).

putrapautrīṇatā f.24.16 a condition of being under the influence of sons and grandsons.

9. Cf. rājatrāye hastasthe sati sūvarājo mitrarājo vā śatrunā nītaḥ tadā vakadśvaka-dīty ukte tātālīkam eva hastān nayet, nṛpākṛṣṭam etat. (CD. 12. 8-10).

10. Cf. naukātrāyaṁ yadā heṣṭe anyanītaṁ ca śatrunā, naukākrṣṭam idam proktam (CD 16. 12-13).

11. Cf. saṅgadam pattipraveśaḥ (CD 3.17).

- pūrvataḥ* ind. 2.13 in the east.  
*pūrvabala* n.23.2 former or first piece (in the game of chess).  
*pūrvāśauca* n.23.1 former impurity.  
*pra+√pat-* 5.2 to place, put.  
*pramāṇadvaya* n. 20.13 two authorities.  
*praveśakarīṭ* mfn. 20.9 one trying to make an entrance.  
*praveśakāle* ind. 11.18 at the time of entrance.  
*praveśabhāṅga* m.18.11 disturbance or frustration of entrance.  
*praveśabhāṅgaja* mfn. 18.17 proceeding from the disturbance or frustration of entrance.  
*praveśabhāṅgārtham* ind. 13.14 for frustrating or repelling an entrance.  
*pra+√āp-* 13.4 to obtain (by capturing a chess piece).  
*prāmāṇyābhāva* m.8.10 absence of authority.  
*protthita* mfn. 18.2 moved, entered.  
*bala* n.2.13 a chess piece.  
*balaghātana* n.7.19 the act of capturing a chess piece.  
*baladvandva* n.22.19 two chess pieces.  
*balasamuccaya* m.23.17 collection of chess pieces.  
*balahanana* n.9.6 the act of capturing a chess piece.  
*balāghāta* m.7.18 a particular situation of pieces in the game of chess.<sup>12</sup>  
*bahu* mfn. 6.6 superior.  
*bahulābhatā* f.9.19 the state of having great gain.  
*bālābodhārtham* ind. 23.21 for the understanding of the ignorant.  
*biddha* mfn. 9.19 obstructed.  
*bindhana* n.6.22 obstruction.  
*bindhanacchedana* n.13.6 removal of an obstruction.  
*√bindhay-* 6.21 to obstruct (a chess piece).  
*bija* n.11.8 central idea.  
*brhannaukā* f.3.15 a favourable position of pieces in the game of chess.<sup>13</sup>  
*bendhum* ind. 7.15 to obstruct.  
*bendhī* mfn. 8.5 a captor of a chess piece.  
*brahmahatyā* f.8.2 the greatest defeat (in the game).  
*bhūpa* m.11.7 a king (in the game of chess).  
*bhūpati* m.3.13 a king (in the game of chess).  
*bhramadbhramaraguñjita* mfn. 1.2 having a humming noise of hovering bees.  
*mataṅgaja* m.4.10 an elephant (in the game of chess).  
*madhyabala* n.5.5 a chess piece in between two other pieces.  
*mahaddoṣatva* n.19.13 the state of having or incurring great fault.

12. Cf. *balasya ghātane pārtha bindhanash cet samutthitam, mitrasya iti vikhyāto balāghātas tu pāṇḍava* (CD 7. 17-18).

13. Cf. *upeviṣṭam tu yat śhānam tasyopari catuṣṭayenaaukācatuṣṭayam yatra kriyate yasya naukāyā, naukācatuṣṭayam tasya brhannauketi bhaghyate* (CD 16. 3-5).



- mahadyatnena* ind. 4.6 with great efforts.  
*mahābala* m.4.1 a superior chess piece.  
*mahābalatva* n.20.2 the state of being a major chess piece.  
*mahīpati* m.18.20 a king (in the game of chess).  
*mālikā* f.4.17 N. of a work (= *Divyamālikā*).  
*mitra* n.4.8 an ally (in the game of chess).  
*mitrapakṣa* m.17.11 the side of an ally (in the game of chess).  
*mitrabala* n.7.15 a chess piece of an ally.  
*mitrarāja* m.12.8 a king of an ally (in the game of a chess).  
*mitrarājapada* n.10.8 a position of the allied king (in the game of chess).  
*mitrasātru* m.8.12 an enemy of an ally (in the game of chess).  
*mitrasīnhāsana* n.10.10 a throne of an allied king (in the game of chess).  
*miśra* m.20.11 N. of the author of *Caturāṅgapaddhati*.  
*mānamāra* m.13.12 an useless affair.  
*mānamāratva* n.13.16 the state of being an useless affair.  
*munipranāta* mfn. 24.1 stated by the sages.  
*mūḍhajana* m.24.11 a foolish or ignorant person.  
*mṛta* mfn. 18.2 dead, captured (a chess piece).  
*mṛtavafī* f.15.8 a captured pawn (in the game of chess).  
*maitreyabala* n.17.18 a chess piece of an ally.  
*yatibhaṅga* m.6.13 spoiling of metre.  
*yama* m.2.17 N. of an author.  
*yamavacana* n.8.15 a statement of Yama.  
*yājñavalkyavacana* n.18.8 a statement of Yājñavalkya.  
*yuddha* n.2.16 fight (in the game of chess).  
*rājakoṣṭhasṭha* mfn. 15.3 standing in or occupying the square of a king (in the game of chess).  
*rājatraya* n.11.1 three kings (in the game of chess).  
*rājadraya* n.11.21 two kings (in the game of chess).  
*rājan* m.2.15 a king (in the game of chess).  
*rājapada* n.10.3 a king's position or square (in the game of chess).  
*rājasatīnmukhavafīkā* f.5.15 a pawn which is before the king (in the game of chess).  
*laṅghayitvā* g.3.11 having crossed or passed over.  
*laṅghya*<sup>14</sup> g.3.12 having crossed or passed over.  
*vaṁśābhāva* m.15.15 loss of the family or clan.  
*vakaḍā* f.12.20 (= *vakaḍāvakaḍī*).  
*vakaḍāvakaḍī* f.3.16 a particular situation of pieces in the game of chess,<sup>15</sup> an assault.

14. The form is unpāṇinian.

15. Cf. *nṛpākṛṣṭam vakaḍāvakaḍī* (CD 3.16).

- vacanakrameṇa* ind. 2.20 according to the rule or statement.  
*vaṭikāntara* (n) 8.13 another pawn (in the game of chess).  
*vaṭi* f.3.1 a chess pawn.  
*vaṭinaulā* f.3.19 the pawn and the boat (in the game of chess).  
*vadhābandhana* n.24.12 death and imprisonment.  
*vādhyā* mfn. 17.10 to be captured (a chess piece).  
*vājimedhāyuta*<sup>16</sup> mfn. 24.8 having (the fruit) of ten thousand horse-sacrifices.  
*vāme* ind. 2.15 on the left side of.  
*vi+√dhā* 15.12 to prescribe.  
*vidhinizedha* m. (du). 24.2 precept and prohibition.  
*vipakṣa* m.7.3 an opposite party (in the game).  
*vipakṣaḥātana* n.10.2 capturing enemy's chess piece.  
*viprahatyā* f.5.3 (= *brahmahatyā*).  
*vilāṅghya* g.3.8 having crossed or passed over.  
*vyāsamukha* n.24.11 the mouth of Vyāsa.  
*vyāsavacana* n.7.6 a statement of Vyāsa.  
*vyāsasamīraṇa* n.19.17 a statement of Vyāsa.  
*vyāsasamīrita* n.7.5 a statement of Vyāsa.  
*śatru* m.12.6 an adversary, one of the opposite party (in the game).  
*śatruṛāja* m.17.18 a king of the enemy (in the game of chess).  
*śīlapāni* m. 1.3 N. of the author of *Caturāṅgadīpikā*.  
*śauryādhikya* n.11.9 superiority of force or valour.  
*ṣaṭpada* n.3.14 a particular advantageous position of the pieces in the game of chess.  
*ṣaṭhapada* n.13.19 a particular situation of the pieces in the game of chess.<sup>17</sup>  
*ṣaṭhapadānvita* mfn. 10.13 having six positions (on the chess board).  
*ṣkumāva* m.9.2 (= *khāra*).  
*saṃhṛta* mfn. 11.22 captured (a chess piece).  
*saṃkaṣṭastha* mfn. 8.1 to be in a critical position.  
*sadbala* n.8.3 a superior chess piece.  
*sandūṣya* g.24.2 having found fault with, having criticised.  
*samālikhya* g.2.12 having drawn.  
*samprāpta* mfn. 8.12 become available.  
*sambhāvya* g.24.1 having well treated or considered.  
*sarvakāmaḥphalaprada* mfn. 2.2 giving the fruit of all desires, fulfilling all desires.  
*sarvabala* n.4.11 all army, all the chess pieces.  
*sarvasainya* m.18.20 an entire force, all the chess pieces.

16. The formation of the compound is irregular.

17. Cf. *koṣaḥ rājapadaṃ tyaktvā vaṭikāntaṃ paḍā vrajet, vaṭi ṣaṭhapadaṃ nāma tadā koṣṭhabalāṃ nayet* (CD 13. 18-19).



- sāṅkaṭya* n.8.3 the state of a critical position.  
*siṃhāsana* n.3.14 a particular situation of pieces in the game of chess.<sup>18</sup>  
*siṃhāsana-kāle* ind. 15.17 at the time of *siṃhāsana* (in the game of chess).  
*siṃhāsana-bhaṅga* m.17.21 disturbing or frustrating of *siṃhāsana* (in the game of chess).  
*suvyavasthā* f.24.1 a proper procedure.  
*senā* f.4.7 an army, pieces in the game of chess.  
*smīta* mfn. 23.22 laughing at.  
*svakīyārājabala* n.4.6 a piece of one's ally-king in the game of chess.  
*svapadastha* mfn. 11.6 occupying one's own position.  
*svabala* n.4.2 one's own chess piece.  
*svarāja* m.12.8 one's own king (in the game of chess).  
*śvalpa* mfn. 6.6 inferior.  
*haṭhāt* ind. 9.4 immediately.  
*hatyādidoṣa* m.9.13 a fault such as capture and the like.  
√*han-* 3.9 to strike or capture (a chess piece).  
*hanana* n.9.7 the act of capturing (a chess piece).  
*hantavya* mfn. 6.7 to be struck or captured (a chess piece).  
*haya* m. 3.20 a horse (in the game of chess).  
*haripadāmbhoja* n.1.2 the lotus-like feet of Lord Hari.  
*hastastha* mfn. 12.8 being in (one's) possession.  
*hastin* m. 6.11 an elephant (in the game of chess).  
*hastisanīmukham* ind. 20.4 in front of an elephant (in the game of chess).

18. Cf. anyad rājapadam rājā yudā yāto yudhiṣṭhira, tadā siṃhāsanaṁ tasya bhāṣyate.... (CD 10. 3-4). Also mitrasīṃhāsanaṁ pārtha yudārohati bhāṣatī, tadā siṃhāsanaṁ nāma svayam nayati tad balam (CD 10. 10-11).

## OBSERVATION OF SOME COMMON PECULIARITIES IN THE ENGLISH SPEECH OF THE PEOPLE OF ORISSA

BY

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In this small world of ours, English language is spoken by the largest number of people and that too by the most significant section of the human race. Apparently though English has lost its importance in India, there is no denying the fact that it still is a dominant factor in the matters of one's career. Its importance in this land or that may diminish, but its usefulness in the career of a world citizen will ever remain as it appears from the present context of things. In India to-day English is still the medium of instruction at the University and the medium of examination in the high level tests like the I.A.S. and the I.P.S.. English Viva-voce is a very important test in higher examinations and much depends on how we fare in them. Speech as such may not matter with the layman but it does matter a great deal with important persons like the politicians and the diplomats with whom oratory is the secret of success. One's mannerism in speech, even a mere accent, a stress, a tone may decide one's position in favour or otherwise in a society.

How often do we hear such sentiments expressed—"such and such people speak English very badly, some too fast and some too slow'. But in the strict scientific sense we (the non-natives) do not speak English at all judged from the standard of the native speakers except in cases of those who are privileged to be born and brought up early in the English soil. Of course it is said that no two Englishmen pronounce alike very simple words like 'Yes' or 'No'. Going a little further, it is scientifically proved that phonetic reproductions of the one and the same sound by a single individual are not identically the same. Yet the individuals of a nation speak a standard which is meant to be understood by the members of the same linguistic community. However much two members of the same linguistic community differ from each other, their's is only a difference of degree. But the difference in the speech of the foreigners is a difference of kind.

In this small essay an attempt is made to give a phonetic analysis of some outstanding common peculiarities met with in the English speech of a standard Oriya speaker. It is by no means an exhaustive picture. In a sense it is the analysis of the English speech of those educated people who pass as speakers of standard Oriya. The peculiarities in the (English) speech



of the dialect speakers of Oriya are not touched here. The analysis of the speech under reference may conveniently be treated on four levels:—on the levels of (a) single sounds, (b) sounds in combination, (c) attributes of sounds and (d) Intonation.

(a) Single sounds:—

Open your mouth and we can tell you who you are. The identification of nationality and locality can offhand be made from a person's use of individual sounds if the sound system of the person concerned is known to us. The people of Orissa use in their English speech several individual sounds which are very characteristic of them.

One of the very interesting features is the use of a retroflexed  $\gamma$  sound in place of an English alveolar [d]. This occurs particularly in the medial and final positions of words. The following are some of the examples.

English	Oriya
radio	reyio
road	ro.γ
hardy	hayi

In the above examples English -d- = Oriya -γ- (like Hindi ढ )

Again hard	hay
had	hay
aid	e.γ

where English -d = Oriya -γ

This retroflexion is said to have been a feature long since borrowed from the Dravidian system.

Two other English affricates  $dʒ$  and  $tʃ$  are never correctly pronounced by the Oriya people. They produce something very much like a plosive without any distinct aspiration. Words like Judge [ $dʒ$ : $dʒ$ ]

Jail [ $dʒ$ eil]

Jar [ $dʒ$ a:]

with an initial affricate [ $dʒ$ ] are pronounced with a characteristic Oriya sound without any audible affrication. So also is the case of English  $tʃ$  in the following English words.

Church [ $tʃ$ ə <sup>h</sup> : $tʃ$ ]	pronounced as $tʃ$ ə $tʃ$
Cheap [ $tʃ$ i <sup>h</sup> :p]	$tʃ$ ip
Chain [ $tʃ$ e <sup>h</sup> in]	$tʃ$ en

(The h above  $tʃ$  to identify the strong affrication in English).

English fricatives like *r*, *z*, *f*, *v*, are never given their native phonetic value in Oriya. Oriya speakers pronounce *f* and *v* as *p<sup>h</sup>* and *b<sup>h</sup>* as aspirated bilabial plosives, so much so that an English man is likely to misunderstand a word like 'vowel' for 'bowel'. The labio-dental fricative is very difficult for the Oriyas to produce.

No difference is made by the Oriyas in the pronunciation of the three English sounds represented by the letters *g*, *j*, *z*. They pronounce equally alike these three in their initial position.

Examples:—

Geography	[dziəgrəfi]	jegrəfi
Jail	[dzeil]	as jel
Zoo	[zu:]	as ju
Z	(zed)	as jed

(*j* is used for a palatal plosive without affrication).

The English *r* is initially a voiced post-alveolar fricative as pronounced in the words

red	[æd]
river	[ɹivə]

But the Oriya speakers substitute it by a tapped *r*, the number of taps may range from two to four. This is confirmed by experiments carried in the laboratory of School of Oriental and African studies in London.\*

Besides the consonants English vowels represent the greatest difficulty in any Indian language whatsoever. The English speech of the Oriyas is conspicuous by the absence of English diphthongs and the back vowels. They do not distinguish between the vowels given in different pairs of words below.

Examples:—

Cat	and	Cart
fat	and	father
ham	and	harm

\* See Aspiration in Oriya on the basis of the observer's own pronunciation with texts in phonetic transcription. London University, 1951, by G. B. Dhall.



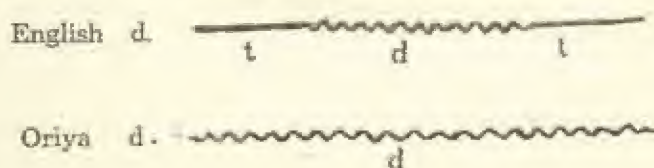
So far as other English vowels are concerned no significant distinction is made in pronouncing the words in the following paradigms. They are pronounced almost the same.

Examples:—

(a) Cut	(b) West	(c) Had	(d) Short
Cot	Waist	Hard	Sort
Caught	Waste	Heard	Shut

In paradigms (a) (d) it is interesting to note that all the different vowels are substituted only by a simple Oriya back vowel (ୱ) and the matter is made simple.

The voiced sounds in Oriya produce greater vibration than is produced in the case of the English voiced sounds. In pronouncing say the Oriya voiced alveolar sound [d.] there is a vibration of the vocal chords from the beginning till the end. But to produce the English alveolar [d.] there is no vibration at the beginning and at the end. The difference may graphically be represented as below:—



D

Because of the lack of initial vibration in the voiced English plosive the d is sometimes misheard by the Oriyas as t the result being that 'day' is understood as 'tie'.

(b) Sounds in Combination:—

A man behaves in a particular way when he is alone. But his behaviour in a group is always modified by the demands of the society he is in. Sounds in a language also follow the same principle. It may particularly be easy to pronounce a sound individually but it may be difficult to say it in other linguistic contexts. Every sound system has its choices. Genuine Oriya syllables are open; consonantal clusters are not tolerated in the system, particularly at the beginning of word. English conjunct consonants are difficult to pronounce. So unless very careful, an anaphtic vowel is likely to creep into the consonant cluster and give the word an appearance very different from the native one. A simple English word like 'Film' is pronounced as 'filəm' or 'filim'. But it is difficult to detect it unless one is

trained for it. But when English words with initial consonant clusters are used in the context of Oriya sentences, the anaphtic vowels almost always develop into full-fledged vowels. I think that is the case with many other languages in India.

(c) Attributes of Sounds:—

Length, stress and prominence are some of the chief attributes of sounds. The length or quantity of sounds in the English speech of the Oriyas is what I am going to discuss here. Length is the time during which a sound is held on continuously. It is easy to distinguish many degrees of length but for practical purposes it is sufficient to distinguish two or sometimes three degrees. When two degrees are distinguished they are called long and short and we have these two degrees in English. The distinction between short and long vowels in English can be observed from the two sets of words:—

Short	Long
bid	bead [bi : d]
sit	seat [si : t]
fill	feel [fi : l]
Cat	harm [ha : m]

In the Oriya phonetic system there is nothing as length though on the writing level there are distinct symbols for long and short vowels in Oriya. The system is taken from Sanskrit. In respect of length Oriya spelling is unphonetic. That is why even in the University levels awful spelling mistakes are detected. In Oriya speech we do not make any distinction between long and short vowel sounds. The same habit persists in speaking English where length has a definite place. So wherever English pronunciation demands a long vowel we are in the habit of putting in a short one. Such English words as are noted below are never pronounced correctly by the people of Orissa.

English words.	English pronunciation.	Oriya pronunciation.
Fees	[fi : z]	[fiz]
Field	[fi : ld]	[fild]
Hoof	[hu : f]	[huf]
Food	[fu : d]	[fut]



Not a single English word with a long vowel is ever pronounced correctly. In English words where a long vowel immediately precedes a final voiced sound, if proper length of the vowel is not maintained the final voiced sound is heard as voiceless. When an Oriya speaker pronounces English words like 'food' and 'bed' with short vowels they are misunderstood by the English people as 'foot' and 'bet'.

English is known as a stress language in which stress plays a role linguistically significant, as for example by the incidence of stress a particular word may be reckoned either as a noun or a verb. The following words with stress on the first syllable are treated as nouns while with stress on the second syllable are verbs.

Examples :—

Nouns

'Export

'Subject

Verbs

Ex'port

Sub'ject, etc.

But Oriya is a nonstress language in which stress plays no role. That is why we do not generally have the idea that there is something like stress in English and that it obeys particular laws.

In English, related words and their derivatives take their stress at different places in a word. Take for instance some pairs of related English words.

'Examine

'Centralise

Fa'miliar

Examin'ation

Centralls'ation

Familia'rity, etc.

As is obvious the pronunciation in the related pairs will have different accoustic effects when uttered with different stresses. But in the mouth of the Oriya speakers each pair appears plain and flat there being no addition of force, in the utterance at any point of stress.

In some parts of Orissa a very strong process of nasalisation is used. The vowel in between two nasal consonants is realised with strong nasalisation. A very common word like 'man' is an instance of that.

(d) Intonation.

Last but not the least important is the intonation. It is easy to master individual sounds, combined sounds and even the attributes of sounds.

But what is most difficult to attain is the intonation, which in essence differentiates one language from another. If anybody has watched an Oriya gentleman speaking Hindi or Bengali, he can easily catch the difference he makes on the intonation level. The very common tone pattern in English is a falling tone. For instance let us take some sentences and phrases with graphic representation of the tone pattern.

I cannot.

· ———— ·  
· ———— ·

Good morning.

· ———— ·  
· ———— ·

I do not want to go.

· ———— · · ———— ·  
· ———— · · ———— ·

I can't understand it.

· ———— · · ———— ·  
· ———— · · ———— ·

But the tone pattern in ordinary Oriya speech is almost level. It is more on the side of French pattern rather than the English. An Oriya sentence like 'I do not understand it' *मु एहा बुझि पाहना हि* can be spoken on a level tone or even with a rising at the end. So from the standpoint of tone, English speech by the Oriyas appears very peculiar.

All that has been said above can be traced in the English speech of a standard Oriya speaker. But there is ample scope for research in the manner of speech of different areas, particularly in the borderlands of Sambalpur, Midnapur and Ganjam where dialects of the Oriya language are spoken. Simple words like cat, rat, land, madam are pronounced as ket, ret, lend, medem in Sambalpur.

A study of the English speech of the Oriyas is very useful from the point of view of its influence on the representation of English loan words in Oriya speech and writings. It is amusing to find in some Oriya dailies the fanciful representation of English names. A few examples may be cited.

Dulles as Djules

Casey as Kesi

St. Pauls as St. Pauləs

A clue to the mystery of such representation can be found by a close study of English speech in the mouth of the people of Orissa.



# THE PHONOLOGY OF A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE DIALECT; THE USE OF PHONEMIC DATA IN DIALECTOLOGY.<sup>1</sup>

BY

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The present paper consists of two parts. Part one gives a phonemic analysis of the dialect of Rankhandi, part two deals with the utilization of the data obtained, in the preparation of a questionnaire for a dialect survey.

## I

0. Rankhandi village is located in Saharanpur District, Uttar Pradesh, about six miles from the Tahsil headquarters, Deoband, and three miles from the hard-surface road connecting Saharanpur with Muzzafarnagar, Meerut and Delhi. The speech of the Saharanpur area is described by GRILSON<sup>2</sup> as part of the Vernacular Hindustani subdialect of Western Hindi. It represents a transition dialect between the Khari Boli of Bijnaur and Moradabad to the East and the Bangaru of Karnal west of the Jumna river.

The present analysis is based on the speech of one informant, an illiterate chamar mason, a member of the village panchayat.<sup>3</sup>

1. The Phonemes of the dialect consist of 7 vowels, 19 consonants, length, nasalization and word-juncture.<sup>4</sup> Vowel phonemes may or may not occur as the high-point of sonority of a syllable, consonants never do.

Consonants: /p, b, t, d, T, D, c, j, k, g, s, h, m, n, N, r, R, l, L./

Vowels: /i, e, æ, a, ɔ, o, u/

Nasalization: / ~ / Length: / : /

Word juncture: indicated by space.

1. The study resulting in this publication was made under a Fellowship granted by the Ford Foundation. The conclusions, opinions and other statements in this publication, however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Ford Foundation. The author is further indebted to the staff of the Cornell University India Project for providing living quarters in the village and for facilitating his contact with villagers.

2. Sir George Abraham Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX Part I, Calcutta 1916.

3. Phonetic symbols used have values assigned to them in the International Phonetic Alphabet (1951). Phonetic transcriptions appear in square brackets, phonemic transcriptions in diagonals. The following additional symbols are used: "C" indicates any consonant "V" any vowel "CC" any double consonant. "CC" any dissimilar consonant cluster. Phonemic symbols are defined in the text.

4. Intonation and phrase junctures have not been analysed.

1.1. Vowels. The dialect has three types of vowel nuclei: simple, e.g., /din/ 'day'; long: consisting of simple vowel plus length, e.g., /ti:n/ 'three'; diphthongal: consisting of sequences of two simple or long vowels, e.g., /bha:i/ 'brother'.

1.11. Simple vowels. There are seven simple vowels, showing contrasts in tongue position: front, central and back; tongue height: close, half open, open; rounding: back vowels are rounded, others are unrounded. Simple vowels may occur initially, i.e., after word-juncture or pause; medially, i.e., between other vowels or consonants; but not finally, i.e., before word juncture or pause, /e, æ, o, ɔ/ occur only with length.

1.12. Vowel length. /i, u, a/ may occur both with and without length, other vowels are always phonemically long. With /a/ long-short contrasts occur in all environments, with /i/ and /u/ contrasts are limited to monosyllables and certain dissyllables of the type C V C C'V and C V' C V C where V' is a simple vowel. Long vowels occur initially, medially and finally in all environments with the following exceptions:

/a:/ /u:/ and /o:/ do not occur before single or double /r, N, D, T, R/ followed by /i/ or /e/ (stem morphemes containing these vocalic nuclei have alternants with /a:l/ /u:i/ and /o:l/ in these environments).

There are four allophonic varieties of length [V] [V.] [V̄] [V:], the last being the longest. In monosyllables and in words of the structure C V' C V C, (see above), long vowels appear as [V:], short vowels appear as [V]. In polysyllables /a/, /i/ and /u/ appear as [V] before double consonants and dissimilar consonant clusters; before single consonants /a/ appears as [V] and /i/ and /u/ vary freely between [V.] and [V].

Long vowels appear as [V:] before most dissimilar consonant clusters, as [V.] before single consonants in words of the type CVCV; before double consonants and after /h/ before /r/ in words of the type /CVhV:r/ and before clusters of nasal plus consonants in words of the type CVCC'V, long vowels appear as [V̄]. In final position long vowels vary between [V.] and [V:].

1.13. Vowel sequences. Sequences of vowels may consist of either a long vowel plus a short vowel or two long vowels, e.g. /ia:r/ 'friend'; /ra:it/ 'night'; /bha:i/ 'brother'. Sequences of the latter type are dissyllabic if the last element is /a:/ /i:o:/ or /i:e:/, all others are monosyllabic, i.e., diphthongal. The short vowel in a diphthongal nucleus is always non-syllabic. In nuclei consisting of two long vowels, the first vowel is syllabic. Allophonic length variations in diphthongal nuclei correspond to those of long vowels (see. 1.12).



1.14. *Allophonic Variations.* This section deals with those allophonic variation in vowel quality of a general nature which apply to more than one phoneme; a list of individual vowel phonemes and allophones is given in Section 1.51.

Vowels are retroflex before retroflex consonants. Vowels are slightly nasalized before nasals. This allophonic nasalization is not as pronounced as that indicated by /~/. Vowels are tense before double consonants. Allophones of /i/ and /u/ before length are slightly higher and tenser than those in simple nuclei, /a/ before length is an open central vowel, /a/ in simple nuclei has a number of allophones centering around the mid central region (see 1.5). Allophones of /e:/ and /o:/ do not vary in vowel quality, regardless of phonetic length (see. 1.12).

/i/ and /u/ have nonsyllabic allophones [j] and [w] before other vowels, which are often pronounced with a slight amount of palatal or bilabial friction noise. These glides occasionally also appear after /i:/ and /u:/ in monosyllabic or dissyllabic vowel sequences.

Before /i/ in diphthongal nuclei ending in short vowel, /u:/ and /o:/ are considerably fronted, /a:/ is raised and fronted. The nonsyllabic vowel glides in the diphthongs /u:i/ /o:i/ and /a:i/ are [u], [e] and [e<sup>h</sup>] respectively. Vowels are fronted after nonsyllabic /i/.

1.2 Consonants. The consonants of the dialect include 10 stops,<sup>5</sup> 2 spirants, 3 nasals, one alveolar trill, one retroflex flap and two laterals.<sup>6</sup> Only stops show voiced-voiceless contrasts. Spirants are normally voiceless, nasals, laterals, trills and flaps are voiced. Consonants occur initially, medially and finally, with the exception of /R/ /N/ and /L/ which do not occur initially.

1.21. *Consonant length.* Long consonants occur medially before long and short vowels, e.g. /pata:/ 'address'; /patta:/ 'leaf'; /nha:ttā:/ 'bathes'. All consonants except /h, r, R, L/ may occur with length. For the sake of convenience long consonants are written with double consonant symbols.

1.22. *Consonant clusters.* Aside from aspirates no initial clusters occur. In some medial clusters a vocalic release intervenes between the two consonants. The nature of the release is determined by the preceding vowel. It is [ə] after /a/, [i] after [i], [i>] after /u/ and [ɤ<] after /o/; e. g.

5. /c/ and /j/ are phonetically affricates, however, phonemically they pattern as stops.

6. Some literate speakers of the village dialect also have /x/ /t/ /ʃ/ and /z/. A number of villagers do not seem to have a contrast between /R/ and /D/.



/bakra:/ [bək<sup>h</sup>ra:] 'goat'; /khi<sup>h</sup>ri:/ [khi<sup>h</sup>ri:] 'a rice dish'; /kæ:hta:/; [kæ:h<sup>h</sup>ta:] 'says'. This release occurs with all clusters except those consisting of nasal, lateral, /N/ or /s/ plus stop or spirant and /ks/. Finally, only clusters of nasals plus consonant occur. A few three-consonant clusters consisting of nasal plus stop, plus another consonant occur medially. All of these have a vocalic release after the second element: e.g. /ɕ:ntra:/ [ɕ:nt<sup>h</sup>ra:] 'platform'.

All consonants except /s/ may be followed by h. These aspirate clusters differ from the others. They occur in medial consonant clusters in positions where ordinarily only single consonants occur, they do not appear finally. Furthermore, words with medial /Lh/ or /Nh/ sometimes show variant forms with /hL/ or /hN/. In all other respects /h/ patterns like other consonants; it occurs in those environments in which consonants ordinarily occur and clusters of /h/ followed by consonant have an intermediate vocalic release (see above).

1.23. Allophonic variations. Stops have lenis pronunciation intervocally. Initially, the pronunciation is slightly fortis. Voiced consonants have a vocalic release finally, voiceless consonants have aspirate release. The release is most pronounced before pause. In emphatic speech, especially in calls from one person to another from a distance, words with final voiceless as well as voiced stops are often followed by a strong vocalic release, which is much more pronounced than that mentioned above, e.g. /jəsuant/ [dʒəswəntə] 'name'; /a:T/ [a:Tə] 'eight'.

1.3. Nasalization. Phonemic nasalization occurs with simple vowels, long vowels and diphthongs. e.g. /hāsNa:/ 'laugh'; /bhā:s/ 'buffalo'; /bā: i:/ 'left'. The domain of nasalization is the entire syllabic vowel nucleus. In some words nasalization appears sometimes one syllable, sometimes on another, e.g. /jū:a:/ or /ju:ā:/ 'well'.

1.4. Juncture. There are two types of phoneme to phoneme transitions within utterances, normal transition and word juncture.<sup>7</sup> The latter is characterized phonetically by a slight hesitation or pause in the transition from one segment to another, e.g. /o: da:m/, [o: da:m] 'that price'; /go:da:m/ [go.da:m] 'store'; /in ka:/ [in ka:] 'his'; /dinka/ [dinka:] 'hay fork'.

There are a number of allophonic features of surrounding phonemes which serve as additional indications of word-juncture. Stops after juncture are fortis, stops before juncture have vocalic or aspirate release (see 1.23).

7. There are several other junctural features marking longer utterance units which have not been analysed so far.



Long vowels have allophonic length [V:] before juncture and [V.] in normal transition e.g. /kha:ki/ [kha.ki:] 'brown'; /ma: ki:/ [ma: ki:] 'mother's'.

Another indication of juncture can be gained from stress distribution. Word stress is predictable, i.e. non-phonemic. In disyllables, the first syllable usually carries slightly higher stress, except with words of the type VCV:C and CaCV: In trisyllables high stress is ordinarily on the second syllable unless the second syllable has the nucleus /a/ or the word ends in /i:a/, /i:o/ or /i:e:/, in which case the first syllable is stressed. In utterances such as /do: do:/ ['do: 'do:], 'two two', each syllable carries an equal amount of stress, whereas in /ua:da:/ ['ua:da:] 'promise', the second element has lower stress.

A phonemic word is defined as a stretch of speech bordered by two word junctures or a pause and word juncture. Phonemic word boundaries do not always coincide with word boundaries established by morphological criteria. /in ka:/ 'his' consists of two phonemic words, whereas morphologically it can be considered as one word since /ka:/ does not occur in isolation.

#### 1.51. List of Vowel Phonemes and Allophones.

Phoneme.	Allophone <sup>8</sup>	Description.
/i/	[i]	Fairly lax, close front vowel, lowered and retracted, e.g., /dil/ 'heart'.
/e/	[e <sup>v</sup> ]	Half close front vowel, somewhat tenser than [i], occurring before length, e.g., /te:l/ 'oil'; /khe:tti:/ 'farming'.
	[ε]	Lower and lax, occurring after /h/ before consonant /ti:sre: pahe:r/ 'afternoon'.
/æ/	[æ <sup>^</sup> ]	Lowered and retracted, half open front vowel, as tense as [e <sup>v</sup> ], occurring before length, e.g., /bæ:l/ 'bullock'.
	[æ <sup>&gt;</sup> ]	Somewhat more centralized than [æ <sup>^</sup> ], occurring finally before length, e.g., /aggæ:/ 'in front'.
/a/	[ə]	Lax, mid central vowel, e.g., /pata:/ 'address'; /makki:/ 'corn'.

8. The symbols in this column represent the most common phonetic values of an allophone. In actuality each allophone has a range of articulations centering around the given value. Environments are stated only for allophones with restricted occurrence.

Phoneme.	Allophone.	Description.
	[ə <sup>v</sup> ]	Lower and more retracted than [ə], occurring before back vowel in the next syllable, and after consonants except /h/ before /N/, e.g., /jaho:r/ 'pond', /bo:laN/ 'speak'.
	[3]	Considerably fronted, after /h/ before /N/, /m/ and /r/ e.g., /kahaN/ 'say'; /raham/ 'mercy'.
	[ə <sup>^</sup> ]	Raised and fronted before /h, R, D, r, N, L/ followed by /l/ or /e:/ e.g., /sahi:/ 'true', /dari/ 'rug'.
	[Ǟ <sup>&lt;</sup> ]	Non-syllabic, centralized unrounded back vowel, occurring in the diphthong /ao:/, e.g., /cao:Ra:/ 'wide'.
	[ʒ <sup>&lt;</sup> ]	Somewhat higher than [Ǟ <sup>&lt;</sup> ], occurring in /au:/, e.g., /sau:ka:r/ 'rich'.
	[α <sup>&lt;</sup> ]	Low central vowel, occurring before length, e.g., /ba:t/ 'word'.
/u/	[O]	Fairly lax rounded front vowel, lowered and centralized, e.g., /cu:sNa:/ 'chew'; /phu:l/ 'bridge'.
	[w]	Bilabial glide, occasionally pronounced with spirantal friction noise, occurring after /i:/ before /h/, e.g., /ti:uha:r/ 'festival', (see 1.13).
	[O <sup>&lt;</sup> ]	The vowel is considerably fronted after certain consonants followed by /i:/ or /e:/, e.g., /buri:/ 'bad'; /kuNTi:/ 'hook'.
/o/	[o <sup>v</sup> ]	Half close, rounded back vowel, somewhat tenser than [u], occurring before length, e.g., /mo:r/ 'peacock'.
	[D <sup>^</sup> ]	Raised half open, rounded back vowel, occurring after /h/, e.g., /jaho:r/ 'pond'.
/ɔ/	[D <sup>v</sup> ]	Rounded, lowered, half open back vowel, occurring before length, e.g., /phD:ʒ/ 'army'; /mD:ka:/ 'opportunity'.



1.52 Consonant Phonemes and Allophones.

Phoneme.	Allophone.	Description.
/b/	[b]	Voiced, bilabial stop, e.g., /ba:LTi:/ 'pail'.
/p/	[p]	Voiceless, bilabial stop, e.g., /pa:p/ 'sin'.
/d/	[d]	Voiced, interdental stop, e.g., /da:nti:/ 'sickle'.
/t/	[t]	Voiceless, interdental stop, e.g., /ti:n/ 'three'.
/D/	[ɖ]	Voiced, retroflex, post-alveolar stop. The preceding vowel has less 'r' color than before /R/ and /N/, e.g., /uDɑ:Na:/ 'make fly'; /bhe:D/ 'sheep' (see L2 footnotes).
/T/	[ɟ]	Voiceless, retroflex, post-alveolar stop, e.g., /Tu:ɪT/ 'broken'.
/j/	[tʃ]	Voiced, palatal affricate, e.g., /jinas/ 'plant'.
/c/	[tʃ]	Voiceless, palatal affricate, e.g., /ca:nd/ 'moon'.
/g/	[g]	Fairly retracted, voiced, velar stop, e.g., /go:bbar/ 'cow dung cake'.
/k/	[k]	Fairly retracted, voiceless, velar stop, e.g., /ka:m/ 'work'.
/s/	[s]	Post alveolar spirant, produced with the tip of the tongue slightly behind the alveolar ridge, e.g., /sa:nj/ 'evening', /sa:di:/ 'wedding'.
/h/	[h]	Voiced, glottal spirant, occurring initially before vowels; intervocalically and medially before voiced consonants, e.g., /haua:/ 'wind'; /lo:ha:/ 'iron'; /so:hNa:/ 'good'.
	[h]	Voiceless, glottal spirant, occurring medially before voiceless consonant and finally, e.g., /khata:/ 'says'; /ræ:h riha:/ 'is remaining'.
	[ʔ]	Aspiration, voiced after voiced consonants, voiceless after voiceless consonants, lip position is that of the following vowel, e.g., /dhi:/ 'girl'; /cho:Ta:/ 'small'; /culha:/ 'stove'; /ka:phi:/ 'enough'.
/m/	[m]	Voiced, bilabial nasal, e.g., /mu:c/ 'mustache'.
/n/	[n]	Voiced, interdental nasal, e.g., /na:j/ 'grain'.

Phoneme.	Allophone.	Description.
/N/	[ŋ]	Voiced, velar nasal, occurring before velar stops, e.g., /rang/ 'color'; /bæ:ngaN/ 'brinjel'.
	[ɲ]	Voiced, palatal nasal occurring before palatal stops, e.g., /sa:nj/ 'evening'.
	[ɳ]	Voiced, post alveolar, retroflex nasal pronounced with considerably more 'r' color than [ŋ] e.g., /ba:N/ 'wood'; /gaNDa:/ 'dirty'.
	[ʔ]	Voiced, post alveolar retroflex nasal flap occurring intervocally, e.g., /caNa:/ 'gram'.
/r/	[ɾ]	Voiced, alveolar trill, e.g., /ro:TTi/ 'food'; /ce:ri:/ 'cattle fodder'.
/R/	[ʐ]	Voiced retroflex flap, more retroflex than [ɳ] e.g., /laRa:Na:/ 'cause to fight'; /pagRi:/ 'turban'; /guR/ 'brown sugar'.
	[ʑ]	Somewhat longer in duration and tenser than [ʐ], occurring intervocally after long vowel or diphthong and finally after long vowel, e.g., /mæ:Ra:/ 'drag'; /be:R/ 'rope'.
	[l]	Voiced, clear, dental lateral, e.g., /la:l/ 'red'.
/L/	[ɭ]	Voiced, retroflex lateral, e.g., /a:La:/ 'wall shelf'; /a:L/ 'wrestling'.

1.53 List of Diphthongs.<sup>9</sup>

## (a) Last element /ɪ/ or /i:/:

/a:ɪ:/ /ra:it/ 'night'; /pa:iNi/ 'water'.

/u:ɪ:/ /dhu:il/ 'cattle blanket'; /pu:iri:/ 'fried cake'.

/o:ɪ:/ /kho:ir/ 'trough'; /dho:iri/ 'servant'.

/aɪ:/ /rijai/ 'comforter'.

/a:i:/ /bha:i/ 'brother'.

/o:i:/ /raso:i/ 'kitchen'.

/e:i:/ /be:i:ma:n/ 'dishonest'.

## (b) Last element /e:/:

/a:e:/ /a:e:/ 'came'; /pha:e:da:/ 'result'.

/æ:/ /gae:/ 'went'; /pae:ra:/ 'thrashing ground'.

9. Nuclei starting with nonsyllabic /l/ and /u/ occur before all vowels except /æ:/ and /ɔ:/ and are not listed here.



(c) Last element /u:/:

/a:u:/ /ta:u:/ 'father's older brother'; /ta:u:Li/ 'soon'.

/au:/ /sau:ka:r/ 'rich'.

/e:u:/ /je:u:Rhi:/ 'rope'.

/i:u:/ /si:u:Na:/ 'sew'.

(d) Last element /o:/:

/a:o:/ /kha:o:/ 'eat'.<sup>10</sup>

/ao:/ /cao:Ra:/ 'wide'; /Dao:L/ 'irrigation ditch'.

1.54. List of consonant clusters.

Medial clusters with intermittent vocalic release.

(a) Clusters beginning with a stop:

/pN; br; bR; bN; tr; tn; dr; TN; Tt; Tm; jb; jm; cR; kc; kR; kN; kL;  
kr; gN; gR;/.

(b) Clusters starting with /r, R, l, L, s, m, N/:

/rg; rd; rt; rb; rD; rl; rN; rk; Rb; Rk; RN; Rt; ls; lk; lm; LN; LR;  
sl; sr; sN; sL; sr; sb; mN; mT; mk; mR;/.

Medial clusters without vocalic release:

/sp; st; sT; ks; LT; nt; nj; nc; nt; NT; nd; ND; mp/.

Three-Consonant clusters.

Clusters containing aspirate consonants:

(a) With vocalic release.

/ThL; khL; kht; phr;/.

(b) Without release: /njh; nth; Nth; NDh;/.

Other Three-Consonant clusters:

/ntr; ngl; ngN; NgL;/.

Final Clusters:

/ng; nj; nt; nd; NT; ND;/.

1.55. Syllable structure.

The following patterns of syllable structure occur: V; CV; CVC;  
CVCC; CCV; CCVC; CCVCC.

10. Some villagers do not have a contrast between /ɔ:/ and /ao:/.

2. Up to the present time dialectologists have shown relatively little interest in integrating structural linguistic techniques into their research methodology. Phonemic analysis represents a recent development in the history of linguistics in comparison with the more than seventy-five year old tradition of modern dialect research. Some of the large-scale linguistic surveys which are still in progress were started at a time when the notion of the phoneme was still in its infancy. Nevertheless as early as 1933 BLOOMFIELD stated that: "In order to record and estimate a local form we need to know its structural pattern in terms of the phonemic system of the local dialect".<sup>11</sup> His remarks, however, have gone almost unheeded and up to now most dialect surveys have failed to provide sufficient information on the phonemic systems current in the areas they survey.

The difficulty in obtaining structural data from conventional dialect studies is to some extent due to the fact that there are fundamental differences between the field techniques of dialectology and those used in the analysis of a single type of speech. The ordinary descriptive linguist works primarily with one informant, for a fairly long period of time. He is not bound to any predetermined form of questioning. He can recheck his data as often as necessary by rearranging utterances in sets according to phonetic similarity and testing the pronunciation of each item by contrasting it against other similar forms. The end product of his field work is a series of utterances arranged according to phonetic similarity, illustrating each of the distinct segments of the language. These are then rearranged into a list of phonemes and allophones (see. 1.5). In the course of his long hours of contact with the informant, the linguist has ample opportunity to learn to distinguish between natural and forced responses and make allowances accordingly. The dialectologist, on the other hand, works with a large number of informants. His time with them is limited and moreover he must obtain comparable information from each interview. He is therefore compelled to adhere fairly rigidly to a questionnaire prepared in advance.

The result of dialect research depends largely on the type of questionnaire that is used. It must contain a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the essential features of morphology, phonology and the lexicon of the dialect. One cannot expect to obtain answers to questions that have not previously been built into the questionnaire. Furthermore care must be taken to ensure natural responses. The material must be arranged according to topics dealing with everyday life, so as to interest the informant in the content matter and turn his attention away from the actual speech forms. The informant cannot be asked to go over the same material several times.

11. Leonard BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, New York, 1933, p. 324.



2.1. The criteria used by dialectologists in selecting items for the study of differences in pronunciation are largely phonetic. In comparing two variants of a certain form the phonetician is interested only in determining the exact pronunciation of each variant. Thus, for example, observing that the word for night is [ra:it] in the dialect and [ra:t] in standard Hindustani, he will take care to include in his questionnaires a number of other examples for this feature, such as [ba:il] 'ear of corn' and [kiua:ir] 'door' etc. The structural linguist on the other hand is interested in a further question, i.e., is there a contrast in the dialect between the clusters [a:i] and [a:]? In order to determine this he needs still other dialect forms for contrast, such as [ba:t] 'word'; [ca:t] 'Hindu month'. Forms of this type are quite frequently lacking in dialect field records, and as a result comparison between dialects is too often limited to phonetic features only.

2.2 In order to minimise these gaps in the data and to make it possible to consider phonemic as well as phonetic features, the dialectologist must have a certain amount of advance information on the contrastive features of the dialect. This can easily be obtained, if instead of collecting illustrations for the sounds of a dialect from written sources, as is usually done, a phonemic analysis of the type illustrated in section 1 is made. It is then possible to select from the list of phonemes and allophones a set of key words illustrating each of the phonemic contrasts and allophonic variations. These words should be similar in phonetic shape so that comparison can be made in terms of analogous pairs. Thus if a form such as /a:l/ 'a vegetable' is chosen as an example for the phoneme /l/, the phoneme /L/ should be illustrated by /a:L/ 'wrestling' and not by /phaL/ 'fruit' or /a:La:/ 'wall-shelf', where the /L/ occurs in different environments.

It is however, not sufficient to include in the questionnaire only those contrasts which are found to occur in the speech of one informant. An attempt must be made to provide for as many as possible of the other contrastive features which might occur in the area to be surveyed. This can be done by comparing the phonemic system of the informant with that of the regional variety of standard Hindustani, spoken by the educated people in the area and with information on dialect variations collected in the area.<sup>12</sup> In the case of the Rankhandi area we find a large number of phonemes that are common everywhere, such as for example the stops. There are others, such as the consonants /N/, /L/; the vowels /æ:/, /ɔ:/, the diphthongs /a:ɪ/, /u:ɪ/, /o:ɪ/, /ao:/, that are found only in the village dialect. Others such as /x/ /f/ /z/, the final clusters /rd/ /rs/ etc., are found only in

12. Several other phonemic analyses should be made in the area, until no more new contrasts are found.



Hindustani. Furthermore /aɔ:/ and /R/ occur in one form of the village dialect and not in others (see 1.2 and 1.53). There are also differences in distribution of individual phonemes. For example, in the dialect /e:/ and /o:/ occur before double consonants, and /h/ occurs after initial /n/ and /m/, which is not true for city Hindustani. Special care must be taken to provide a large number of examples for all contrasts involving the variant features because it is likely that there will be a number of dialect differences with respect to them.

The following list of monosyllabic words containing various vowel nuclei may serve as an illustration of the type of key words that should be introduced into the questionnaire for the purpose of testing for contrast: /ci:l/ 'skin'; /pi:r/ 'place of worship'; /dil/ 'heart'; /sir/ 'head'; /be:l/ 'creeper plant'; /khe:t/ 'field'; /bæ:l/ 'bullock'; /cæ:t/ 'Hindu month'; /ba:il/ 'ear of grain'; /ra:it/ 'evening'; /ba:l/ 'hair'; /ba:t/ 'word'; /Tu:m/ 'jewel'; /jhu:T/ 'falsehood'; /tʊm/ 'you'; /duk/ 'pain'; /jhu:il/ 'cattle blanket'; /Tu:iT/ 'broken'; /mo:r/ 'peacock'; /kho:d/ 'dig'; /kho:ir/ 'trough'; /kho:id/ 'dug'; /phɔ:ɟ/ 'army'; /pɔ:d/ 'plant'; /sao:R/ 'comforter'; /Dao:L/ 'ditch'.

All these items can be fitted into the topical arrangement of the questionnaire along with other items illustrating features of morphology and lexicon. It is advisable to test for as many contrasts as possible at an early stage of the questionnaire, so that a preliminary analysis can be made after the first interview and doubtful points can be checked in later interviews.

2.3. If we combine the various phonemic systems current in the area into one single system, treating all forms as if they occurred in the speech of a single speaker, we can obtain a structural frame work which can be used as a tentative frame work for structural comparison.<sup>13</sup> Speakers can be divided into a number of groups, depending on which of the total number of contrasts they observe. Pronunciation differences can be graded according to whether they are on a phonemic or on a phonetic level.<sup>14</sup>

The inclusion of sets of analogous pairs in the questionnaire has also some advantages for field work as such. It helps to focus the investigator's attention on those items which must be recorded with special care. Furthermore he can to some extent eliminate his hearing difficulties by checking doubtful items in contrast with others.

13. It is tentative in the sense that it must be modified and expanded as new contrasts are discovered.

14. An excellent example of this type of structural frame work, which covers nearly every vowel contrast found in the various standard forms of English is given in: TRAGER and SMITH, *An Outline of English Structure*, Norman Oklahoma, 1951, pp. 21-29.



2.4. In order to determine whether the structural data gathered through preliminary phonemic analysis in the field could also have been obtained from previously published material, an analysis was made of the Saharanpur dialect samples quoted by GRIERSON.<sup>15</sup>

A number of discrepancies were found, especially in the vowel system. GRIERSON shows no contrasts between /æ:/ and /e:/; /ɔ:/ and /o:/; /a:/ and /a:i/; /o/ and /o:i/; /u:/ and /u:i/. The consonant systems agree. However only one instance of /L/ is given, in the word /ka:L/ 'famine', which also appears as /ka:l/ in another part of the text. Furthermore it would not have been possible to find sets of analogous pairs of the type mentioned above. A questionnaire prepared solely on the basis of GRIERSON's material would be in danger of omitting a great deal of structurally relevant material.

The preceding discussion has definite implications for any future new linguistic survey of India. If structural comparisons are to be made, it will be necessary to make descriptive studies of the phonology and morphology of a large number of local dialects before efficient questionnaires can be prepared.

15. *Linguistic Survey of India*, op. cit. p. 231.

## DERIVATION OF VERBAL FORMS IN MODERN TELUGU

BY

K. Mahadeva SASTRI, *Madras.*

The Modern Telugu Movement was started sometime in the first decade of the present century for the purpose of making the spoken language the vehicle of literary expression. The movement was opposed vehemently by the traditionalists who wanted that the old literary language should continue. The battle was fought for nearly thirty years and finally the Modern Telugu Movement has won the day. Since the forties newspapers in Telugu adopted the spoken language unreservedly. The Radio also made it popular through its talks programmes. At the present day not only the bulk of the modern Telugu literature is written in the spoken language, but old Telugu classics like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are being written in the spoken language with an effort to reach a much wider reading public. In all these ways modern Telugu has come to stay; it is accepted in principle by almost every writer. Such of those who cling to the archaic dialect either do so because they were nurtured in the old tradition or because they feel modern Telugu in its present state without a standard form is not yet a fit medium for serious literature.

We are now in the formative stage in the Modern Telugu Movement. It is desirable at this juncture to try to bring about a certain amount of uniformity in grammar and in spelling in Modern Telugu, a conventional standard for the language to be employed in literature. To this end a dictionary of modern Telugu usage indicating the sounds and grammatical forms of the various dialects in the country and tracing their connection with the older forms in the language is to be compiled. The present paper provides some materials on the finite verbal forms of the Godavary dialect, for such a work in view.

The verbal forms in modern Telugu are not necessarily of recent origin. Indeed many of them are very old. We know about their existence in the older stage of the language from different sources like the inscriptions, commentaries of classical works and other prose-books, popular literature which is generally found written in the *dēśi* metres, etc. The old Telugu grammarians expressly mentioned about some 'heterodox' forms which cannot be employed in the *kāvya*s, e.g., Kētana (13th century A.D.), gives the Aorist *teccutāru* ( > Modern *teṣṭāru*); pres. part. of the auxiliary verb *konu*, *konṭū* (< \**konutu*); Appa-kavi (17th century A.D.), gives, e.g., Aorist *vastāḍu*,



*testāḍu*, etc., which are current at the present day. Thus we can safely imagine that beside the old literary dialect, there was a parallel stream of the colloquial language all through these centuries. Our endeavour is now to trace the development of the modern Telugu verbal forms from their old prototypes.

*Past Tense:*

*caduvu*, 'to read'; *ceyu*, 'to do'; Note: — *c* is pronounced in this language as a dental affricate [ts] in connection with the non-palatal vowels, and as a palatal affricate [cʃ] in connection with the palatal vowels.

	Literary form.	Spoken form.
III. Sg. Masc.	<i>cadiv-enu</i> , <i>cadiv-inā-ḍu</i> <i>cēs-enu</i> , <i>cēs-inā-ḍu</i>	<i>cadivā-ḍu</i> <i>cēsā-ḍu</i>
Fem. &	<i>cadiv-enu</i> , <i>cadiv-ina-dī</i>	<i>cadiv-in-dī</i>
Ntr.	<i>cēs-enu</i> , <i>cēs-ina-dī</i>	<i>cēs-in-dī</i>
Pl. Masc. &	<i>cadiv-i-ri</i> , <i>cadiv-inā-ru</i>	<i>cadivā-ru</i>
Fem.	<i>cēs-i-ri</i> , <i>cēs-inā-ru</i>	<i>cēsā-ru</i>
Ntr.	<i>cēs-ina-vi</i>	<i>cēsā-yi</i>
II. Sg.	<i>cadiv-iti-vi</i> , <i>cadiv-inā-vu</i> <i>cēs-iti-vi</i> , <i>cēs-inā-vu</i>	<i>cadivā-vu</i> <i>cēsā-vu</i>
Pl.	<i>cadiv-iti-ri</i> , <i>cadiv-inā-ru</i> <i>cēs-iti-ri</i> , <i>cēs-inā-ru</i>	<i>cadivā-ru</i> <i>cēsā-ru</i>
I. Sg.	<i>cadiv-iti-ni</i> , <i>cadiv-inā-nu</i> <i>cēs-iti-ni</i> , <i>cēs-inā-nu</i>	<i>cadivā-mu</i> <i>cēsā-mu</i>
Pl.	<i>cadiv-iti-mi</i> , <i>cadiv-inā-mu</i> <i>cēs-iti-mi</i> , <i>cēs-inā-mu</i>	<i>cadivā-nu</i> <i>cēsā-nu</i>

There are three kinds of formations in the literary dialect: (i) the *-enu* forms in the III. Sg. which do not contain any marks of gender. They are very old forms in the language and are frequently met with in the pre-Nannaya inscriptions. (ii) finite verbal forms of III Pl. and I & II Sg. & Pl, made by adding the pronominal fragments to the past verbal theme. The sign of the past consists of *i* (na) in the III. Pl. (cf. *cadiv-i-ri*, 'they read'), and *iti* in the I and II persons (cf. *cadiv-iti-vi*, 'you (Sg.) read', *cadiv-iti-mi*, 'we read'). (iii) corrupted forms of the past participial adjectives which have come to be used as finite verbs in all the three persons.

The verbal forms of the colloquial speech of the present day are all derived from the past participial adjectives by a second degree of corruption. In the language of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa the participial adjectives are used as such and are kept distinct from the finite verbal forms. But gradually the latter became obsolete and the participial adjective in its corrupted form came to be

used as the finite verb. But even to-day the distinction in meaning between the full form and the corrupted one is maintained, e.g., *cadivīnavāḍu* 'one who has read', *cadivīnāḍu*, 'he read.'

The development of the modern verbal forms of the past is as follows:

- III. Pers. *cadivīnavāḍu* > *cadivīnāḍu* > *cadivēḍu*;  
*cadivīnāḍi* > *cadivīndi*; *cadivīnavāru* >  
*cadivīnāru* > *cadivēru*; *cēsīnavi* > *cēsīnavi* > *cēsēyi*
- II. Pers. *cadivīnāvu* > *cadivēvu*; *cadivīnavāru* > *cadivīnāru* >  
*cadivēru*.
- I. Pers. *cadivīnānu* > *cadivēnu*; *cadivīnāmu* > *cadivēmu*

It will be seen from the above examples that an *ē* sound has developed in the language by contraction of *i* and *a*. There are many other instances where the sound has developed secondarily through contraction, e.g., *tāṭi* + *āku* > *tāṭāku*; *marrī* + *āku* > *marrāku*, etc. This sound which was not there originally in Telugu has no symbol for it in the alphabet, so it is written either as *ā* or *ē* according to the fancy of the writer. This sometime leads to very great confusion. For example, *cadivēru*, (< *cadivīnāru*), 'they read' if it is written as *cadivēru* as is often done, confounds with *cadivēru* (< *cadivēdaru*) 'lest they should read.' To eliminate this ambiguity, it is necessary to provide a symbol for *ē*. There are also some other new sounds which have either developed within the language or become familiarised through loan words for which symbols have to be invented in Modern Telugu.

Present Tense:

	Literary form.	Spoken form.
III. Sg. Masc.	<i>caduv-uc-unnā-ḍu</i> <i>cēy-uc-unnā-ḍu</i>	<i>caduv-ut-unnā-ḍu</i> <i>cēs-t-unnā-ḍu</i>
Fem. &	<i>caduv-uc-unna-di</i>	<i>caduv-ut-ūn-di</i>
Ntr.	<i>cēy-uc-unna-di</i>	<i>cēs-t-ūn-di</i>
Pl. Masc. &	<i>caduv-uc-unnā-ru</i>	<i>caduv-ut-unnā-ru</i>
Fem.	<i>cēy-uc-unnā-ru</i>	<i>cēs-t-unnā-ru</i>
Ntr.	<i>cēy-uc-unna-vi</i>	<i>cēs-t-unṇā-yi</i>
II. Sg.	<i>caduv-uc-unnā-vu</i> <i>cēy-uc-unnā-vu</i>	<i>caduv-ut-unnā-vu</i> <i>cēs-t-unnā-vu</i>
Pl.	<i>caduv-uc-unnā-ru</i> <i>cēy-uc-unnā-ru</i>	<i>caduv-ut-unnā-ru</i> <i>cēs-t-unnā-ru</i>
I. Sg.	<i>caduv-uc-unnā-nu</i> <i>cēy-uc-unnā-nu</i>	<i>caduv-ut-unnā-nu</i> <i>cēs-t-unnā-nu</i>
Pl.	<i>caduv-uc-unnā-mu</i> <i>cēy-uc-unnā-mu</i>	<i>caduv-ut-unnā-mu</i> <i>cēs-t-unnā-mu</i>



The present verbal theme is formed by *ucu* in the literary dialect, by *utu* in the spoken dialect. *unna* is the past participle of the auxiliary verb *unḍu* 'to be'. (cf. the auxiliary verb *rahṇā-* to stay, in the present conjugation in Hindi). It seems that *ucu* is a softened form of *utu* and became generalised in the literary dialect. *utu* forms are found in the older language side by side with those in *ucu* although they were not accepted by the grammarians. It is worth noting that whereas the past verbal forms in the literary dialect were formed by adding the pronominal fragments to the past theme there are no such corresponding forms for the present. Indeed there was not regular finite verb for the present in the 11th century. There were only participial adjectives like *caduv-uc-unna-vāru*, 'they who are reading', *cēy-uc-unna-vāḍa-nu*, 'I who am doing'. Later they became corrupted in usage: *caduv-uc-unnā-ru*, *cēy-uc-unnā-ru* and began functioning as the finite verbs in the literary dialect. The colloquial forms are derived from those with a present theme in *utu* (cf. *pāḍ-ut-unnā-ḍu*, 'he is singing', pres. part. *pāḍ-utū*) \**caduv-ut-unna-vāḍu* > *caduv-ut-unnā-ḍu*; \**cēy-ut-unnā-nu* > *cēs-t-unnā-nu*, etc.

Aorist Tense (*Bhaviṣyat-taddharma*):

	Literary form.	Spoken form.
III. Sg. Masc.	<i>caduv-unu</i> <i>cēy-unu</i>	<i>caduv-utā-ḍu</i> <i>cēs-tā-ḍu</i>
Fem. & Ntr.	<i>caduv-unu</i> <i>cēy-unu</i>	<i>caduv-ut-undi</i> <i>cēs-t-undi</i>
Pl. Masc. & Fem.	<i>caduv-udu-ru</i> <i>cēy-udu-ru</i>	<i>caduv-utā-ru</i> <i>cēs-tā-ru</i>
II. Sg.	<i>caduv-uḍu-vu</i> , <i>cadiv-eda-vu</i> <i>cēy-uḍu-vu</i> , <i>cēs-eda-vu</i>	<i>caduv-utā-vu</i>  <i>cēs-tā-vu</i>
Pl.	<i>caduv-uḍu-ru</i> , <i>cadiv-eda-ru</i> <i>cēy-uḍu-ru</i> , <i>cēs-eda-ru</i>	<i>caduv-utā-ru</i>  <i>cēs-tā-ru</i>
I. Sg.	<i>caduv-uḍu-nu</i> , <i>cadiv-eda-nu</i> <i>cēy-uḍu-nu</i> , <i>cēs-eda-nu</i>	<i>caduv-utā-nu</i>  <i>cēs-tā-nu</i>
Pl.	<i>caduv-uḍu-mu</i> , <i>cadiv-eda-mu</i> <i>cēy-uḍu-mu</i> , <i>cēs-eda-mu</i>	<i>caduv-utā-mu</i>  <i>cēs-tā-mu</i>

Corresponding to the primitive past forms with *-enu* in the literary dialect, we have *-unu* forms in the *bhaviṣyat-taddharma*, without any marks of gender in the III. Sg. and III. Ntr. Pl. All other forms are made from the base in *-uḍu* or *-eḍu* by adding the pronominal fragments. The colloquial forms are derived from a base in *-utu*, the same as for the present tense, by adding the pronominal signs to it, e.g. (*cēy-utu + vāḍu* >) \**cēy-utā-ḍu* > *cēs-tā-ḍu*; (*cēy-utu + avi* >) *cēy-uta-vi* (Guntur dialect) > *cēs-tā-yi* instead of the regular *cēs-ta-yi*. The long vowel is due to analogy with forms like *cēs-tā-ḍu*, *cēs-tā-ru* etc. (*cēy-utu + adi* >) \**cēy-uta-ḍi* > *cēs-ta-ḍi*, also *ces-tun-ḍi*. This form with the nasal is due to the influence of the present verb *cēs-tūḍi* < *cēstunnadi*.

It seems that the theme of the aorist *-uḍu*, *-eḍu* and that of the present *-utu* are ultimately related.

After the present tense was formed with the help of the auxiliary verb *unḍu* the Aorist forms became appropriated to the future in the spoken language.

#### Future Tense:

The following forms are used in the literary as well as in the spoken dialect:

III. Sg. Masc.	<i>caduv-a-gala-ḍu</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-ḍu</i>
Fem. & Ntr.	<i>caduv-a-gala-ḍu</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-ḍu</i>
Pl. Masc. & Fem. Ntr.	<i>caduv-a-gala-ru</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-ru</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-vu</i>
II. Sg.	<i>caduv-a-gala-vu</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-vu</i>
Pl.	<i>caduv-a-gala-ru</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-ru</i>
I. Sg.	<i>caduv-a-gala-nu</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-nu</i>
Pl.	<i>caduv-a-gala-mu</i> <i>cēy-a-gala-mu</i>

As stated above the spoken language uses the Aorist for the simple future. The above forms are also used in the future besides their original sense of *śakyārtha*, i.e., indicating capacity to do a thing, e.g. *caduvagalaḍu*, 'he will read', also 'he can read'. The full form must be like *caduv-an-kala-vāḍu* = 'in (the act of) reading he is capable' = he can read.



## Conclusions

1. The past *-enu* forms (e.g. *cēs-enu*) and the aorist *-unu* forms (e.g. *cēy-unu*) of III. Sg. are classical and are very ancient forms in the language. They have gone out of use in the spoken language of the Coastal Andhra districts.

2. The past finite forms formed by the theme in *i* (*ti*) plus pronominal fragments (e.g. *cēsiri*, *cēsitiri*) have now become archaic; in their place corrupted forms of past participial adjectives are used as finite verbs. Such forms are also used in the III. Sg.

3. The present base in *-ucu* has been replaced in the modern dialect by what is probably its own ancient form *-utu*. Both in the literary and the spoken dialects, the present finite verb was derived from the present participial adjective.

4. The theme of the aorist is *-udu* or *-ēdu* in the classical dialect, *-utu* in the spoken dialect.

5. The aorist forms were found sufficient to serve for the future after the present tense became characterised. The *-kala* forms of the classical dialect are also in common use to-day, often in the sense of *śakyārtha* (cf. the development of futurity in the English verb: 'He will come' originally meant 'he has the will to come').

## THE TERM *ELUTTU* IN TAMIL GRAMMAR\*

BY

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The use of the term *eḷuttu* in the oldest extant Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* is of immense interest to students of Indian linguistics and culture. This paper attempts to assess the significance of the term, especially as it is employed in the *Eluttatikāram* of this grammar.

From the first and second *sūtras* of the *Eluttatikāram* which exclude *kurriyalikaram*, *kurriyalukaram* and *āytam* from the category of *eḷuttu*, while saying that these are similar to *eḷuttu*,<sup>1</sup> it appears that the term *eḷuttu* is used to mean only significant speech-sounds, that is the phonemes, of the Tamil language.

*eḷuttena-p-pafupa*  
*akaramutal nakara iruvāy*  
*muppaḥtenpa*  
*cārātuvaval marapiṇ mūṇṇalaṅkaṭaiyē*  
*avaitām*  
*kurriyalikaram kurriyalukaram*  
*āytam enṇa*  
*muppārpuḷḷiyum eḷuttōraṇṇa*

(TE, 1 and 2)<sup>2</sup>

The next two *sūtras* mention the terms *kurṇeḷuttu* and *netṭeḷuttu* where, again, *eḷuttu* means only speech-sound.

*avarṇuḷ*  
*a i u e o enṇum*  
*appāl aintum*  
*ōṇalapu icaikkum kurṇeḷut-t-enpa.*

\* This paper was read before the meeting of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi in May, 1955.

1. The very reference to *muppārpuḷḷi*, the three dots, indicates clearly that writing was known and practised at the time of *Tolkāppiyam* and that there is similarity between the writing then and that of today.

2. TE, 1 and 2 means *Tolkāppiyam Eluttatikāram*, *sūtras* one and two.



"Among them, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*—these five are short *eḷuttu* with only one *aḷapu* or *mātra*." (TE, 3)

*ā ī ū ē ai ō au*  
*appāl ēḷum*  
*īraḷapu icaikkum neṭṭeḷutt-enpa.*

"*ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, *au*—these five are long *eḷuttu* with two *matras*." (TE, 4)

The terms *valleḷuttu* (hard consonants or plosives), *melleḷuttu* (soft consonants or nasals) and *iṭaiyeḷuttu* (medials) refer to spoken symbols only, since they describe the nature of the sounds as hard, soft and medial.

*valleḷutt-enpa ka ca ṭa ta pa ṛa*  
*melleḷutt-enpa ṇa ṇā ṇa ṇā ma ṇa*  
*iṭaiyeḷutt-enpa ya ra la va ḷa ḷa*

[TE, 19, 20, 21].

In the following *sūtras* of *Tolkāppiyam*, however, *eḷuttu* means the written symbol.

*mūvaḷapu icaittal ōreḷutt-iṇṇē*  
*ṇūṭṭam vēṇṇiṇ avvaḷapuṭaiya*  
*kūṭṭi eḷūtal eṇmaṇār pulavar.*

"There is no *eḷuttu* with three *mātras*. Learned men say that to lengthen the sound (to three or more *mātras*) the symbol for the short vowel should be written by the side of the long vowel. The number of symbols of short vowel thus added will depend on the length required."

(TE, 5 and 6)

These two *sūtras*, especially *sūtra* 6, clearly refer to the practice of writing. *Eḷuttu* in *sūtra* 5, which states that there is no *eḷuttu* with three *mātras*, may be taken to mean either the written symbol or speech-sound. But the next *sūtra* clearly implies that speech-sounds with three or more *mātras* occur in Tamil but that there are no symbols to represent them with.

*sūtra* 41 :

*kunṛicai molivayṇ ṇiṇṛicai ṇiṇaiḷkum*  
*neṭṭeḷuttimpar otta kuṇṛeḷuttē.*

"A short vowel (*kuṇṛeḷuttu*) belonging to the same class as a long vowel (*neṭṭeḷuttu*) is used along with the vowel in order to have the required

*mātra* whenever the two *mātras* of the long vowel are not sufficient." In other words, whenever a vowel is lengthened so as to have three *matras* or more, it is represented in script by the symbol for the long vowel followed by one or more symbols for the short vowel of the same class. For example, *a* with three *mātras* will be represented as : *āa*, with four *mātras* *āaa*, etc.

sūtras 13, 14, 15, 16; 17 :

araiyaḷapu kurukal makaram uṭaittē  
 icaiyiṭan arukum teriyuṭi kālai  
 uṭperu pulḷi uruvākummē  
 meyyin iyaṭkai pulḷiyōṭu nilaiyal  
 ekara okaratt-iyāṭkaiyum aṭṭē  
 pulḷi-y-illā ellā meyyum  
 uruvuvuv-āki akaramōṭ-uyirttalum  
 ēṇai uyirōṭu uruvutiriṇṭ-uyarttalum  
 āyir-iyala uyirttal-āṭē.

"The quantity of *m* is shortened to quarter of a *mātra* when it follows some consonants. When this happens, the *m* takes a dot within it. The (pure) consonant is represented by adding a dot (to the symbol). *e* and *o* also have the same nature (that is, short *e* and short *o* are represented with dots above). All consonants (i.e. consonant symbols) without dots represent consonant sounds followed by *a*; those (symbols) for consonants followed by other vowels are different."

sūtra 58 :

ikara yakaram iṭuti viravum

"(The symbol) *i* is sometimes used for *y* at the end of words."

As can be seen from the abovementioned sūtras, Tolkāppiyam uses the term *eḷuttu* both in the sense of speech-sounds and letters of the alphabet.<sup>3</sup>

So also does the Middle Tamil grammar Nāṇṇūl. By and large, in TE the term *eḷuttu*<sup>4</sup> refers to the practice in writing.

3. The practice of using the term *moḷi* both in the sense of language and in the sense of word (cf. TE, 59) may be noted here.

It was obviously due to the use of the term *eḷuttu* both in the sense of speech-sounds and in the sense of writing that Nāṇṇūl talks of *olivaṭṭeṇ* (spoken form) and *varivaṭṭeṇ* (written form) for *eḷuttu*, and uses the terms *olivaḷuttu* and *varivaḷuttu* to distinguish between speech and writing.

4. The term *eḷuttu* is to be derived from *eḷu* "to raise", and the term *eḷuttu* according to this derivation would mean something which is raised (or caused to come out) from within, that is the speech-sound. Obviously, the term *eḷuttu* came to be applied to writing long after the term came to refer to speech-sounds, the reason being that letters form units of the written word just as speech-sounds form units of the spoken word.



The chief conclusion that emerges from the foregoing study is that writing was a well-established practice during the time of Tolkāppiyam, some time before the beginning of Christian era<sup>5</sup>, and that there is at least some similarity between the Tamil writing of today and that of Tolkāppiyar's time.<sup>6</sup>

5. Two verses from Kural, verse 1 and verse 392, are of interest in this connection. The opening verse of the book indicates that the Tamil author was familiar with the other systems of writing prevalent in India in his time (c. 2nd century of the Christian era).

*akara mutal-v-eluttellām-āi  
pakavaṇ mutarrē-y-ulaku*

Parimēlalakar, the commentator on Kural, says that the author had observed that a was the first letter not only for South Indian languages but for the North Indian languages as well.

Verse 392 refers to the importance attached to a knowledge of writing by ancient Tamils.

*enṇenpa-v-ēṇai-y-elutteṇpa-v-iviraṇṇai-  
kaṇṇepa vāḷum-uṇṇai.*

"Writing and arithmetic are like the two eyes of living beings."

6. In view of this conclusion, it is necessary to revise the theory put forward by Buhler, Gopinatha Rao and others that the Tamil system of writing is to be derived from the Aśokan variety of Brāhmī.

# THE NASAL PHONEMES OF KANNADA<sup>1</sup>

BY

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0.1 In this short paper I propose to examine the nasal sounds occurring in the standard colloquial *Kannada* of Mysore (hereafter written simply as *Kannada*). The analysis is based upon my own pronunciation which, I have reason to believe, can be fairly described as *Kannada*.

0.2 Six nasals are found in the *Kannada* orthography. They are *m*, *n*, *ṇ*, *ṇ̄*, *ṇ̄̄*, and the *anusvāra*. The last one can be included in the preceding five, as it is pronounced as a homorganic nasal before plosives and affricates, and as *m* before other consonants.

1.1 There are six nasal sounds in *Kannada*: [m], [n], [ṇ] [ṇ̄], [ṇ̄̄], and [N]. Their phonetic descriptions respectively are bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar and blade-alveolar.<sup>2</sup>

1.2 [m], [n], [ṇ] are separate phonemes. Many minimal pairs can be found to prove this. But, the following three words would suffice: /a:me/ [a:me]<sup>3</sup> 'tortoise', /a:ne/ [a:ne] 'elephant', and /a:ṇe/ [a:ṇe] 'anna'.

The other three are allophones of /n/. Because [ṇ̄̄] occurs only in two words, as the homorganic element of a cluster: /Jna:na/ [Jṇ̄̄a:na] 'Knowledge', /Jna:pka/ [Jṇ̄̄a:pka]<sup>4</sup> 'memory'; [ṇ̄̄] occurs only with homorganic plosives, [N] occurs only with homorganic affricates, and [n] occurs elsewhere. e.g.: /benki/ [beṇki] 'fire', /manga/ [maṅga] 'monkey', /hencu/ [heNtʃu] 'tiles', /manJu/ [maNdʒu] 'snow'. For [n] see sections 2.1 and 2.3.

2.1 After having established the nasal phonemes of *Kannada* I now propose to discuss their distribution. Before that, a general statement of their distribution may be made: All the three nasal phonemes occur

1. I must gratefully acknowledge two articles which have inspired me to write this short paper:

(a) "The Nasal Phonemes of Sanskrit"—M. B. EMENEAV, *Lang.*, Vol. 22, No. 2.

(b) "Affricates in Kannada speech"—T. N. SREEHANTAIYA, particularly the paragraphs No. 2, 3, and 4 on p. 86, *IL*, 1954.

2. *Ibid.*, 1(b).

3. There are some deviations from the IPA system of transcription in this paper. They can be easily identified from the context. It should also be noted that the phonetic transcription is not accurate in regard to the vowels. This, however, does not alter the issue.

4. (a) In this paper no distinction is made between native and loan-words, as it would be irrelevant in a descriptive statement.

(b) Hereafterwards /J/ stands for a voiced blade-alveolar affricate.



(a) Initially (except /ŋ/); e.g.: /ma:le/ [ma:le] 'rain', /na:ku/ [na:ku] 'four'.

(b) Intervocally; e.g.: /so:ne/ [so:ne] 'drizzle', /be:ne/ [be:ne] 'peg', /a:me/ [a:me] 'tortoise'.

(c) with homorganic plosives, and affricates; e.g.: /tampu/ [tampu] 'coolness', /heṇḍa/ [heṇḍa] 'toddy', /kantu/ [kantu] 'instalment'; for the other allophones of /n/ see section 1.2.

(d) with other consonants; e.g., see sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5.

(e) in gemination: e.g.: /amma/ [amma] 'mother', /appa/ [appa] 'elder brother', /bennu/ [bennu] 'back'.

(f) but not finally.

2.2 The phoneme /m/ occurs as the first element of clusters with /k/, /g/, /c/, /ʃ/, /t/, /d/, /tʃ/, /dʃ/, /n/, /r/, /l/, /v/, /s/, /h/, e.g., are: /namkere/ [namkere] 'our tank', /namguri/ [namguri] 'our aim', /tamca: kri/ [tamtsa: kri] 'your duty', /tamJe: bu/ [tamdʒe: bu] 'your pocket', /nimto: pi/ [nimto: pi] 'your cap', /nimdoḷḷu/ [nimdoḷḷu] 'your paunch', /tamtuttu: ri/ [tamtuttu: ri] 'your bugle or horn', /tamde/ [tamde] 'Is it yours?', /namna: ji/ [namna: ji] 'our dog', etc., /namha: ge/ [namha: ge] 'like us'.

/m/ also occurs as the second element of clusters with /r/, /l/, /v/, /s/, /n/, etc., e.g., are: /ni: rmane/ [ni: rmane] 'bathroom', /ka: lme: le/ [ka: lme: le] 'on the leg', /ha: vme: le/ [ha: vme: le] 'on the snake', /basme: le/ [basme: le] 'on the bus', /ninma: tu/ [ninma: tu] 'Your word', etc.

2.3 The phoneme /n/ occurs as the first element of clusters with /k/, /g/, /m/, /p/, /b/, /j/, /s/, /h/, etc., e.g., are: /ninkivi/ [ninkivi] 'Your ear', /ningaṇḍa/ [ningaṇḍa] 'your husband', /benme: le/ [benme: le] 'on the back', /benpaṇi/ [benpaṇi] 'carbuncle', /ni: nbe: re/ [ni: nbe: re] 'you too!', /ni: nja: ru/ [ni: nja: ru] 'who are you?' /ninsi: re/ [ninsi: re] 'your sari', /nanha: sge/ [nanha: sge] 'my bed' etc.

Forms like [ninkivi] and [ningaṇḍa] are not to be considered as contradicting the preceding statement about [n] in 1.2, because these forms are to be analysed as having juncture / + /, occurring between the /n/ and the stop, or as /nin+kivi/ and /nin+gaṇḍa/ respectively. The contrast is only apparent, not real.

/n/ occurs as the second element of clusters with /m/, /j/, /l/, etc., e.g.: /sumne/ [sumne] 'simply', /ba: jnalli/ [ba: jnalli] 'in the mouth', /ha: lno: nu/ [ha: lno: nu] 'milkman', etc.

2.4 The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs as the first element of clusters with /g/, /c/, /t/, /m/, /j/, etc., e.g., are: /taṅgide/ [taṅgide] 'It is cool', /kaṇcuccutte/

[kaṇṭṣuttṣutte] 'it pricks the eye', /maṇṭinnu/ [maṇṭinnu] 'eat mud!', /kaṇme:le/ [kaṇme:le] 'on the eye', /puṇja/ [puṇja] 'good effect of a previous good act', etc.

/ṇ/ also occurs as the second element of clusters with only retroflex consonants like /ṭ/, e.g.: /poṭṇa/ [poṭṇa] 'packet'.

2.5 /m/, /n/, /ṇ/, occur in a cluster of three consonants also, provided they are the first elements, and the second elements are homorganic plosives or affricates. The following are some of the clusters that occur so:

(a) /mb, mp/ + /t/, /d/, /k/, /ṭ/, /l/, /ḷ/, /m/, etc., e.g., are: /nambta:ne/ [nambta:ne] 'he believes', /nambda/ [nambda] 'he believed', /nambke/ [nambke] 'belief', /kambḷi/ [kambḷi] 'rug', /nambḷe/ [nambḷe] 'can I believe?', /kempmu:ti/ [kempmu:ti] 'red face', etc.

(b) /ṇṭ, ṇḍ/ + /k/, /c/, /ḷ/, /h/, etc., e.g., are: /guṇḍcēṇḍu/ [guṇḍcēṇḍu] 'round ball', /gaṇṭḷu/ [gaṇṭḷu] 'throat', /toṇḍhasu/ [toṇḍhasu] 'stray cow', /tuṇṭkaru/ [tuṇṭkaru] 'mischievous calf', etc.

(c) /nt, nd/ + /k/, etc., e.g.: /tindkoḷli/ [tindkoḷli] 'Let him eat for himself.'

(d) /ṇk, ng/ [ṇk, ṅg] + /t/, /b/, /d/, etc., e.g., are: /maṇkbu:di/ [maṇkbu:di] 'magical ash', /nungta:ne/ [nungta:ne] 'he swallows', /nungda/ [nungda] 'he swallowed', etc.

(e) /nc, nJ/ [Ntṣ, Ndž] + /h/, /m/, etc., /hoṇcha:ku/ [hoNtṣha:ku] 'to lie in ambush', /heṇcme:le/ [heNtṣme:le] 'on the tiles', etc.

2.6 It might have been noticed, by the examples given above, that an interesting point emerges out of them: whenever we find clusters of the type described in sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5, we may almost be certain that we are dealing with more than a single morpheme, the border between the morphemes being between the nasal phoneme and the following consonant, or between the homorganic cluster and the following consonant. I have said *almost*, because there are utterances like /camca/ [tṣamtṣa] 'spoon', /carma/ [tṣarma] 'skin', /va:sne/ [va:sne] 'smell', etc. which are single morphemes; this is only one side of the question, for, we have utterances like /niṇṭo:pi/ [niṇṭo:pi] 'your cap', /ninge/ [niṅge] 'to you', /nincēṇḍu/ [niNtṣēṇḍu] 'your ball', etc., which have two morphemes, the final /n/ of /nin-/ having respectively become /ṇ/, [ṇ], and [N] owing to the following consonant. However, one can fruitfully look for a morphemic boundary in such cases.<sup>6</sup>

6. I am very grateful to Dr. Gordon H. FARRAGHER for having gone through this paper and for having suggested many improvements.



## A PHONÆSTHETIC ASPECT OF RETROFLEXION

BY

Bishwa Nath PRASAD, Patna (Poona)

The historical aspect of the process of cerebralization in the Indo-Aryan languages and the influences at work have been thoroughly dealt with by WACKERNAGEL in his *Altindische Grammatik I* (Die cerebrale, paras 143-151, pp. 164-177) and by J. BLOCH in his *L'Indo-Aryen* (pp. 53-59).<sup>1</sup> I therefore directed my attention to a phonetic-phonological treatment and a study of the articulation based on word-palatograms.<sup>2</sup> While doing so, one of the most important points which struck me was the prosodic nature of the consonants of the retroflex series, because it was noticed that along with the variations in the articulation contact of the retroflex series the prosodies concerning them also showed considerable variations in the modern Indian Sanskritic languages like Hindi, Bhojpuri, etc.. In my thesis entitled *A Phonetic and Phonological Study of Bhojpuri* (University of London, 1950), I called attention of the scholars to this important and interesting aspect by referring to the linguistic theory of prosodies as elucidated by Professor FIRTH in his "Sounds and Prosodies" (TPS., 1947, 127 ff.). As a matter of fact the entire treatment of these sounds as we find it in Sanskrit grammar, e.g., in the rules formulating the change of *s* to *ṣ* and *t* to *ṭ* when in contact with *ṣ* or a retroflex plosive and of the change of *n* to *ṇ* when preceded by *r* or *ṣ* in the same word is based on prosodies.<sup>3</sup> It was therefore suggested that both for its diachronic and synchronic analysis the process of cerebralization might be profitably studied and interpreted in this new light for a clear understanding of its linguistic implications. It is gratifying to note in this connection that Dr. W. S. ALLEN subsequently presented an illuminating study of the prosodic processes of retroflexion in Sanskrit in his two learned articles in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.<sup>4</sup>

\* The usual transliteration marks *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ* have been used in this article for the IPA symbols for the retroflex sounds and *a* has been used for the IPA *ʌ*.

1. Also TURNER, "Cerebralization in Sindhi", *JRAS*, 1924, pp. 555-584 and "Gujarati Phonology", *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 511-515.

2. See FIRTH, "Word-Palatograms and Articulation", *BSOAS*, Vol. XII, Parts 3 and 4, 1948, pp. 857-864.

3. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 8.4.1 and 8.4.4. Thus Sanskrit has *praṇa* 'question', but *praṇam* for questioning, *aṣṭi* 'eighty', but *aṣṭau* 'eight'.

4. W. S. ALLEN, "Some Prosodic Aspects of Retroflexion and Aspiration in Sanskrit," *BSOAS*, XIII, 1951, pp. 939 ff. and "Retroflexion in Sanskrit: Prosodic Technique and its relevance to Comparative Statement", *BSOAS*, Vol. XVI, Part 3, 1954, pp. 556-565.



I am here going to throw a hint on yet another aspect of retroflexion which may be termed as its 'phonæsthetic' aspect,<sup>5</sup> and which may be found somewhat helpful in tracing the historical bearings and development of the retroflex series in the modern Indian languages.<sup>6</sup>

The number of words with initial consonants of the retroflex series in modern North Indian Languages like Hindi, Nepali, Bhojpurī etc. is definitely less than those with the consonants of the other Vargas,<sup>7</sup> as it appears from the dictionaries like the *Hindi Śabda Sāgar* (Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, Benares), *TURNER's Nepali Dictionary* and the *Word-Index* in *GRIERSON's Bihar Peasant Life*. Amongst the consonants of the retroflex series themselves, the aspirated forms ṭh, ḍh and ṛh are less in use than the unaspirated forms ṭ, ḍ and ṛ. The retroflex consonants sound harsh to the ears of the speakers of the languages referred to above. Their phonæsthetic sense is well evidenced in the onomatopoeic words in their use. They have the likeness of the retroflex consonants in the rattling sounds and disturbing knocks, e.g.,

5. See Firth, "The Uses and Distribution of certain English Sounds", *English Studies*, XVII, 10, Feb. 1935, p. 12 and his *Speech*, pp. 43-61.

6. Widely divergent views have been expressed by those dealing with the historical aspects of cerebralization in the Indo-Aryan languages. The most commonly accepted theory has been to treat the set of cerebral sounds as of Dravidian origin developing partly from a tendency to harshen the pronunciation of the dentals under the Dravidian influence and partly from the wholesale borrowings of a large number of non-Aryan words in Sanskrit and Prakrit and through them in the modern Indian languages. As against this view John BEAMES contended that the cerebrals are the real equivalents of the European *t* and *d* and that it is not these but the Indian dentals which have grown out of the cerebrals by the process of softening which the Aryan organs of speech have undergone owing to the climatic effects (see John BEAMES, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, p. 235. See also HOENIGLE, *Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, pp. 8-10). JENSEN (Language, pp. 196-197) also points out that the cerebrals exist in the Nordic languages and some sort of cerebrals must therefore belong to the original stock of Indo-European phonetic system.

Compare in this connection the general tendency of equating the English alveolar sounds with the Indian retroflex sounds. See CHATTERJĪ, *ODBL.*, pp. 641-42.

7. An exception may probably have to be made for Sindhi which shows special fondness for the cerebrals e.g.

Hindī		Sindhi
ḍin	'day'	ḍin*
ḍas	'ten'	ḍah
ḍukh	'trouble'	ḍukh*
ḍa:n	'gift'	ḍa:n*
ḍā:t	'tooth'	ḍandh*

For an appreciation of the position with regard to the initial retroflex consonants in the modern North Indian languages it may be noted that the Vedic had very limited use of the retroflex consonants and had only one initial retroflex consonant ṛ. Pāli also had a very limited number of initial cerebrals. The *Pāli Lexicon* by Rhys DAVIES and STEDS has only nineteen words with initial retroflex consonants.



khaṭ-khaṭ, khaṭar-khaṭar, in the harsh noise of a crow—tā:y-tā:y, or of a frog—tar-tar, in the unpleasant strokes and rapping sounds of a hammer, e.g., thā:y- thā:y, ṭhak- ṭhak, ṭhukur- ṭhukur, in the belching and bellowing sound ḍaka:r, in the angry and chiding words ḍā:ṭ- ḍapaṭ and in loud burst of laughter ṭaha:ka:.

Words denoting unpleasant sensations and sounds of anything referring to violence, terror, awkwardness, perplexity and roughness are often associated with retroflex sounds, e.g.,

kaṭar- kaṭar		'the biting sounds generated by the friction of the teeth.'
ghaṭ-ghaṭ		'noise in drinking some liquid, impatiently and in an unmannerly way.'
gaṭ-gaṭ		'swallowing in a hurry big quantities of food with noise.'
kaṭ-kaṭ		'crack.'
taṭ-taṭ		'the breaking sound of wood.'
dhaṭ-dhaṭ		'to do anything hurriedly.'
baṭ-baṭ		'to talk gibberish.'
bhaṭ-bhaṭ	}	'unpleasant noises.'
paṭ-paṭ		
paṭa:ka:		'cracker.'
dhaṭa:ka:		'crash or explosion.'
ṭho:kar		'a stumbling block.'
ṭhe:s		'knock.'
ḍham-ḍham		in which the retroflex represents the thundering sound and the nasal represents the sound of a drum.

Not that all the words having retroflex sounds denote unpleasant things and sensations, but many words signifying something obnoxious and awkward are associated with retroflex sounds. For example,

gar-bar	'topsy-turvy'	har-bar	'hurrying in confusion.'
bakhe:ṛa:	'wrangling'	bakḍe:r	'squint'
gure:ṛ	'look with eyes expressing extreme severity.'	lara:yi:	'battle'
jhaḍṛa:	'quarrel'	ṭēṭiha:	'quarrelsome'
ṭhaḡ	'cheat'	luṭera:	'robber'
ṭhā:s	'stuffing'	ṭh*ṭṭ*	'throng'

ṭe:ṛh	'crooked'	ḍa:h	'jealousy'
rapḍi:	'prostitute'	rā:ṛ	'a widow of bad character.'
ḍa:yin	'witch'	ḍo:m	'one of the untouchable classes; notorious for their stealing habits.' <sup>8</sup>

What can be uglier than ṭhaṭhəri: 'human skeleton', ko:ṛh 'leprosy', and what can be more offensive and obscene than jha:ṛa: 'faeces evacuated', lā:ṛ 'penis' and gā:ṛ 'anus'?

Out of two or more synonyms, one having one or more retroflex consonant is invariably suggestive of a derogatory sense and is intentionally used to convey it when necessary, e.g.,

ma:tha:, sir 'head', but mū:ṛi: or mū:ṛ when disgust or sarcastic sense is to be conveyed.

Similarly:

pəyr 'leg', ṭā:g or ṭāgəri:  
 gala:, gardan, 'neck', nare:ṭi:  
 pe:ṭ 'stomach' dhī:ṛh 'large belly' or 'pregnancy',  
 ke:s, ba:r 'hair' jhḍə:ṭa: 'scattered and ugly big hairs'.

Such interesting correlations between the occurrence of retroflex sounds and the characteristic contexts of experience and situation in which they are used illustrate their phonæsthetic function in Hindi, Bhoj.<sup>9</sup> etc..

This predominant phonæsthetic sense keeps the speaker's traditional interest and appreciation alive to the beauties of his songs and ballads which conform to the canons of poetic 'excellences' or 'guṇas' as laid down by the Indian rhetoricians, according to which, the retroflex consonants are inappropriate for sweetness (*mādhurya*) in poetry as they are harsh and not suited to the Pathetic (*Karuṇa*), the Privative Erotic (*Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra*) and the Quietistic (*Śānta*) emotions (*rasas*). Not that the retroflex sounds are altogether despicable, but their beauties have also to be appreciated for their suggestiveness in the case of the property of Floridity (*ōjaguna*) which is suited to the Disgustful (*bībhatsa*), Heroic (*vīra*) and Furious (*raudra*) emotions in poetry.<sup>10</sup>

8. The *dōms* are probably the remnants of the stock to which the Romany Gypsies belonged. See GRIMSON'S Introduction to Mrs. GRIMSON'S "An English-Gipsy Index", p. 7 (*Indian Antiquary*, XV, 1886, p. 14).

9. The etymology of the type of instances cited above deserve to be examined.

10. *Mammatā, Kāvya-prakāśa*, VIII, 74-75.



## BUDDHIST HYBRID SANSKRIT

BY

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### I

The peculiarities of the Sanskrit in which a class of Buddhist Sanskrit texts are written have frequently been remarked upon, studied in some detail and compared with Pali, Middle Indo-Aryan, etc. The series of these studies have culminated in the three volumes of Prof. EDGERTON<sup>1</sup> on what has been christened by him as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS). Among the several studies on aspects of this language are some papers of EDGERTON himself who had been working on the subject for the past two decades. In his paper on the "Metre of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka"<sup>2</sup> he said that this hybrid or mixed Sanskrit was based on a lost Prakrit, the proto-canonical language of the Buddhists. In his paper on the Prakrit underlying BHS<sup>3</sup> which he wrote at about the same time as the paper previously mentioned, he clarifies this statement of his that the Pali of the canonical texts as well as the Sanskrit of these texts in question are originally recasts of an older Prakrit.<sup>4</sup>

Buddhist Sanskrit would admit of a three-fold classification, (i) normal literary Sanskrit whose deviations from the Paninian norm were at a minimum, (ii) the class of writings in which deviations from the normal Sanskrit were numerous and varied, and (iii) a further class in which bizarre constructions abounded and outlandish vocabulary appeared.<sup>5</sup> If we draw a middle line, we may see on one side a style, grades of which strive more and more to approximate to the literary Sanskrit norm, and on the other a

1. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Vol. I. Grammar; Vol. II. Dictionary; and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader. Yale University, 1953, New Haven, U.S.A.

2. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume, Madras, pp. 39-45.

3. BSOAS, VIII, pp. 1935-37.

4. In his detailed review-article on Edgerton's BHS., J. Brough says (BSOAS, XVI, p. 363), more acceptably as it appears to me, that "there seems to be no compelling reason for postulating a single Prakrit dialect as the 'original' language; and it seems much more likely that the texts were handed down in diverging ways in different communities."

5. The range and variety of the vagaries are such that, while they can be recognised as a kind of Sanskrit, to deem them a language and lay down a grammar for them seem to be a *ad hoc*, pace the monumental labours and achievement of Edgerton.



style, grades of which tend more and more to become mixed and even strange. In its most aberrated form this latter style would appear to be the result of the expansion of Buddhism in the trans-Indian territories, where the literary efforts of some non-Indian Buddhists should have contributed new constructions and words; indeed, we have evidences of such trans-Indian Sanskrit Buddhist works.<sup>6</sup> Similarly in the former style, the grades in which that style was more clearly recognisable as literary Sanskrit, it should bear close relationship to such writings in Sanskrit which display a grammatical freedom, judged from the Paninian standard. Laying aside for the time being names like Pali, Middle Indo-Aryan and Proto-canonical Prakrit, if we bear in mind the fact that in actual speaking, Sanskrit exhibited solecisms or colloquialisms and that writings bearing the stamp of popular origin and vogue could not escape colloquial lapses, lack of accord in gender and number, declensional vagaries, unsettled usage of different kinds of present participles, confusion of *ātmane* and *parasmai padas*, etc., we can see that the base of this mixed language is the spoken form and that it is not exclusively Buddhistic but common to the class of Brahmanical literature called the Epics. This mixed language or the Gāthā dialect as it was once referred to is really popular or colloquial Sanskrit. It was also a fluid form whose lapses from the norm could not yet be reduced to any dialectal rules or uniformity. It was in this form of popular Sanskrit that the Epics were written, a fact which at one time led scholars to suppose that the Epics were recasts of Pali or Prakrit originals.<sup>7</sup> The Epic Sanskrit, as WINTERWITZ says,<sup>8</sup> approaches more nearly to the language of the people, so that one may call it a more popular form of Sanskrit; and shows 'solecisms such as are often committed by uneducated and inferior authors like the Purana composers.'<sup>9</sup> Burnouf, who is the latest to write on it, says<sup>10</sup> that the popular character of the epics is evidenced by their language. "This is Sanskrit definitely enough as opposed to the contemporary Middle Indo-Aryan, but it is a Sanskrit which continually violates the rules which Pāṇini had laid down and which were

6. E.g., Gośrīga-vyākaraṇa, Vimalabodha-pariprechā, etc. See F. W. Thomas, *India and Its Expansion*, Calcutta University, p. 65.

7. See Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 260-266, where he calls it dialectic Sanskrit: '...most of the grammatical irregularities in the epic are mere dialectic variations.' Also Keilhorn, *JRAS* 1898, p. 18, who said that these epic forms are more Pali than Sanskrit. On the untenability of the supposition that the epics were recast from Pali originals see Keith, *JRAS* 1906, pp. 2-3. Jacobi also opined so and added: "Pali and Epic language are two different developments."

8. *History of Indian Literature*, English translation, I, p. 44.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 461. Some varieties of technical literature also exhibit such a style of Sanskrit.

10. *The Sanskrit Language*, Faber & Faber, pp. 51-3.



always observed in the more orthodox literary circles.<sup>11</sup>... The recitation and transmission of the Epic legends was not the business of the Brahmans, but of the Sūtas. ... It was natural that their language should be of a more popular nature than that of the educated classes *par excellence*, the Brāhmins. At the same time it is interesting that all along in spite of the competition of Prakrit, Sanskrit was cultivated in much wider circles than the priestly schools for whom Pāṇini's work was intended.<sup>12</sup> (italics mine) ... the knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the epic reciters must have depended primarily on usage and not on formal instruction...."

Epic Sanskrit has thus material worth study side by side with that of the Buddhist Sanskrit works. Further refinements of the epic texts have of course obliterated many of the old forms which might help us in this study of popular Sanskrit, but even as they are, the epic texts do still have vestiges of their old diction. To take an example: In his paper on the Prakrit underlying BHS, already referred to, EDGERTON said, (p. 50): "Again, all readers of Pali are very familiar with the common expression *yena ... tena*, 'where (someone or something was), there (someone else went)'. In themselves, *yena* and *tena* are perfectly normal Sanskrit (as well as Pali) forms; but this use of them, I believe, is not known except in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit though frequent there." (italics mine). In the next sentence, EDGERTON called this a characteristic example of BHS. Sukumar SEN has also dealt with it in his Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit.<sup>13</sup> In his recent BHS Grammar EDGERTON notices this '*yena -tena*' in art. 7.32 (p. 44) under CASE—Instrumental, and here he says, modifying his earlier affirmation that this usage "is not quite unknown in Sanskrit (at any rate epic)" and cites an instance from the Mahābhārata. So also under *yena* in his BHS Dictionary, p. 448<sup>a</sup>.

This '*yena -tena*' construction is quite a common thing in Epic Sanskrit. It is significant in more ways than one to come across this, more than once, in the text of the Rāmāyaṇa, which, going by the consensus of opinion, has been brought very much close to the literary norm. The Rāmāyaṇa can give us six passages with this *yena -tena*, the construction appearing elliptically sometimes with only *yena*, and sometimes more fully with even a

11. Cf. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*: 'But the language of these others was no different language, but only a less perfect one.' And H. Oldenberg, *Das Mahābhārata*: 'At the time of the epics there had been types of Sanskrit of a higher and a lesser degree of perfection.'

12. See Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, where he says that apart from the language of the Śiṣṭa there must have been types of a less good Sanskrit in other social circles. We may add that Patañjali himself records that outside of the ordained and sacred acts, the Ṛṣis spoke colloquial forms; *yarvāṇas tarvāno nāma ṛṣayo bahhūvuh* etc., 1. i. 1.

13. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, XVII (1928), p. 23.

double *yena-tena*. There are three instances in Book II, one in III and two in VI. Ayodhyā 33.16, Southern text has:

*gacchantam anugacchāmo yena gacchati rāghavaḥ |*

*ibid.* 33.22 reads:

*vanam nagaram evāstu yena gacchati rāghavaḥ |*

*ibid.* 52.11,

*jagmatur yena tau gaṅgām sītayā saha rāghavau |*

In Āraṇya 31.19, Southern text, we have,

*yena yena ca gacchanti rākṣasā bhayakarśitāḥ |*

*tena tena sma paśyanti rāmam evāgrataḥ sthītam ||*

100.31 of Yuddha reads:

*ubhau hi yena vrajataḥ tena tena śarormayaḥ |*

*ūrmayo vāyunā viddhāḥ jagmuḥ sāgarayor iva ||*

108.2 of Yuddha has the following:<sup>14</sup>

*yena yena ratho yāti tena tena pradhāvati |* (Southern text).

The comparison of the above readings, found in the Southern text, with those in the North-Western recension and the Eastern text edited by GORRESIO reveals significant facts: The first line in Southern text II.33.16 is represented by II.36.18 and II.33.18 in the N.W. and Eastern texts; these two texts between themselves read similarly and the line appears in an amended form without our *yena-tena*:

*rāmam evānugacchāmo kim no dūraiḥ dhanena vā |*

The second passage is represented in N.W. and Eastern texts by II.36.23 and II.33.23:

*vanam nagaram evāstu yatra gacchati rāghavaḥ |*

where the restoration of *yatra* for the locative sense is a patent emendation. In the third case, however, the N.W. and Eastern texts preserve the old construction:

*jagmatur yena vai gaṅgām sītayā saha rāghavau |*

N. W. 53.8 GORRESIO, 49.5, with slight change, *gaṅgām vai*.

The case of the fourth is instructive, for the whole canto in which it occurs in the Southern text,—the episode of Akampana making an advance report to Rāvaṇa of the destruction of Khara and his hosts—, is absent completely from the N.W. and Eastern texts. In the fifth case from the Yuddha-

14. Hopkins quotes this in p. 335 of his Great Epic,



kāṇḍa, the verse as it occurs in N.W. 78.66 omits one of the two *tenas*, balancing thereby with the single *yena*, and substitutes it with *yayuh*, though here too among the readings recorded, we have the *Bha*-reading preserving *tena*, *tēna*; in GORRESIO also, VI.79.60, similar emendation occurs but with *babhuḥ* instead of *yayuh*. In the sixth instance, the double *yena-tena* occurs in both the N.W. text and GORRESIO (87.21 in N.W. and 90.20 in GORRESIO).

Now a consideration of the variants in the above passages in the three recensions shows that the Southern text is valuable for preserving better the older diction; also, it is interesting to note that a canto missing in the two recensions, and occurring only in the Southern and hence likely to be suspect, reveals archaic features.

We may note also another similar passage in the Rāmāyaṇa, VI.32.30, Southern text :

nūnam anyām mayā jātim vāritam dānam uttamam |  
yāham adyeha śocāmi bhāryā sarvātīther api ||

We are used in classical Sanskrit to time-specifying accusatives, but here is an out of the way accusative in the place of the locative. The absence of this verse from the corresponding cantos in the North-Western and Eastern texts confirms our earlier observation about the comparatively better preservation of archaic passages in the Southern text.

## II

Some instances of BHS vocabulary from the BHS Dictionary may now be examined.

These words show different categories. Firstly come those ancient words of the common language which the new religion uses and specialises in a sense for its own forms, as a result of which these old words fall out of use in the communities outside this new religious movement. Examples of such Buddhistic words are *Caitya*, *Śramaṇa* etc., which are quite common in non-Buddhistic significance in the older times. To cite an apt analogy from Tamil, there are special terms and expressions which the Śrīvaiṣṇavas use and have come to be termed as their parlance or *paribhāṣās*; these were old words used in the whole Tamil community, and attested by inscriptions, but when the Śrīvaiṣṇavas began making special use of them, the rest left them off.

Some of the words of BHS are really old words of common usage and go to the common stock of the vocabulary of the Vedic and Epic India.

In such cases when a new religious movement is forging ahead and building itself up into a certain distinctness, there is a natural tendency to introduce certain changes and adopt certain peculiarities or choose certain neglected or unfamiliar words and ideas and bring them to the fore. There



is an idiosyncratic conscious effort at using common words with certain innovations in prefixes and suffixes. One set of Buddhistic words is thus formed by adding before normal Sanskrit words the upasargas *abhi*, *anu* or *upa*, and adding at the end the *ka*-pratyaya; a-stems are adopted in forms having i-endings; variation is secured by fully using *num* where the present participle does not have it, and by using words in their augmented forms; also word-forming suffixes are extended analogically to more words than found to take those suffixes in ordinary Sanskrit usage; e.g. *kṛtāvin*, *śrutāvin*, *śamitāvin*; and among derivatives from a same root, adopting one not in vogue: e.g. *samaya* for *samiti*.

We shall first see certain instances of BHS words from Edgerton's Dictionary which are found in Vedic and Epic usage, then certain others which can be traced in special popular branches like Nāṭya and Kāma Śāstra, next some words which can be seen in the Brahmanical schools of philosophy like Vedānta and Yoga, and last, some for which usage in classical Sanskrit can also be cited.

BHS Dict. p. 576<sup>b</sup>. *Sampuṣpita*: in full bloom. Edgerton contrasts it with *Puṣpita* which alone is used according to the Sanskrit usage while the former is characteristic of BHS. *Sampuṣpita* seems to be handed down from Vedic times. Cf. Taittirīya Aranyaka, X.9:

yathā vṛkṣasya sampuṣpitasya dūrād gandho vāti,  
evam puṇyasya karmaṇo dūrād gandho vāti

In the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, 116.2, describing Pāṇḍu roaming in the forest on the eve of his fatal erotic mood, we read *supuṣpitavane* which has in the footnotes the reading *Sampuṣpita*; the latter would appear to be the more idiomatic old usage and the *su*-prefixed form may easily be held to be suspect.

It is clear that Mahāyāna Buddhological literature bears the impress of the Sanskrit Itihāsas. It is noteworthy in this connection that some of the words and ideas that have been noticed in BHS are to be seen in the Epic also. To cite some examples:

BHS Dict. p. 223<sup>a</sup>. (*Anārabdha*) and p. 103<sup>a</sup> *Arambha*, in the sense of slaughter. *Arambha* in the sense of slaughter is known in Sanskrit, in addition to the form *Ālambha*. In Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara, Rāvaṇa threatens Sītā that if she does not come round within two months, cooks will butcher her (*ārabh*) for his breakfast. The two forms *ārabh* and *ālabh* seem to be doublets and as the latter became better known later, even where *ārabh* occurred, it had been emended into *ālabh*. The Kumbhakonam edition with Govindarāja's commentary and the Venkateswara Press edition with the same commentary read this line:

mama tvām prātarāśārtham ārabhante mahānase | (V. 22.9)



The M.L.J. Press edition carries the emended form *ālabhante*; the text with Tilaka commentary (Bombay), the N.W. text (17.13) and Gonæzio's edition (vol. IV, p. 252) carry a more drastic emendation of the whole line:

*sūdāḥ chetsyanti khaṇḍaśaḥ*

Here again the value of the Southern text is seen.

BHS Dict. p. 45<sup>a</sup>. Edgerton notes *Nyagrodha-parimaṇḍala* in the list of *sāmudrika-lakṣaṇas*. This is met with in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the description of Rāma by Sītā, (III.47.34 M.L.J. Press edn.), the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*.

BHS Dict. p. 523<sup>a</sup>. On *Śabda-vedha* and *Śabda-vedhitva*, Edgerton refers to *Mahābhārata*, but not to *Rāmāyaṇa*, where it forms part of the story; Daśaratha killing the hermit-boy by mistake, Ayodhyā 63.11 (M.L.J. Press edition) and to *Raghuvamśa* following this (IX.73).

BHS Dict. p. 621: *Hema-jāla*. Edgerton says that this is not noted as a compound in Sanskrit. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, this compound itself, in the same sense, occurs in descriptive passages three times: M.L.J. Press edn. V.6.36 describing *śibikās*—*hemajālāparicchinnaḥ*; V.45.3 in the description of the chariot—*hemajālāparikṣiptaiḥ*; and VI.75.56 describing fighters in the army—*hemajālācitabhujam*.

BHS Dict. p. 123; *Upaka (ga)*: This is found in Epic usage in expressions like *Puṣpopaga-phalopagāḥ* describing trees. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sundara*, 14.35 :

*ye kecit pādapās tatra puṣpopagaphalopagāḥ |*

BHS Dict. p. 171<sup>b</sup>. *Kalatra*: Edgerton says that it means in Sanskrit only wife "except once in *Harṣacarita*." In the larger sense also, of servants, family etc., it occurs in Sanskrit. One instance may be cited: When Hanu-mān offers to take Sītā on his back, she uses the word *Kalatra* only in the sense of person in one's charge or to be protected by one: *Kalatravati sandehaḥ*. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V.37.48 (M.L.J. Press edn.).

BHS Dict. pp. 18-19. *Adhvan* meaning *Kāla*, Time. In the *Yogasūtras* IV.12.13 and Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya* thereon, *Adhvan* is used in the sense of the three phases of time, past, present and future, from which the semantic shift to Time itself is quite understandable.

BHS Dict. p. 44<sup>b</sup>. *Aparāmrṣṭa*: Uninfected, Untarnished. In the same sense the *Yogasūtras* use this word in their definition of *Īśvara*:

*kleśakarmavipākāśayair aparāmrṣṭaḥ puruṣaviśeṣaḥ īśvaraḥ |*

BHS Dict. p. 23<sup>b</sup>. *Anāvṛtti(ka)*: Characterised by no return. The word in this sense is quite common in *Vedānta* literature from the earliest strata of it.



BHS Dict. pp. 251-252. *Tāyin*. It is said here that this is unquestionably a re-Sanskritisation of the Prakrit-Pali form of *Tādṛś* (*Tādi(n)*, *Tāyin*); the suggestion on the basis of the Tibetan assumption that *Tāyin* is from Sanskrit *Trāyin* is also discounted. Its primary meaning is given as 'such a one as the Buddha' and from that the meaning, 'Holy', 'Protector' and so on.

Now we have Vācaspati Miśra describing Akṣapāda, the founder of Nyāya, as *Tāyin* in his *Tātparyapariśuddhi*:

namāmi dharmavijñānavairāgyaiśvarya-dāyine |  
nidhaye vāgviśuddhinām akṣapādāya tāyine ||

The forms *Tāya* and *Tāyana* appear to be original in Sanskrit in the sense of the 'flourishing' or 'he, who or that which grows evermore or becomes profuse', *Sphūṭibhavati*, and referring to superhuman and divine personalities. Pāṇini gives the form *Tāyana* in that sense in 1.3.38—*vr̥tti-sarga-tāyaneṣu kramah*. The BHS *Tāyin* may better be referred to this Sanskrit *Tāyin*.

BHS Dict. pp. 494-495. *Vibhajati*, *Vibhajya*, *Vibhāgiya*, where *Vi-bhaj* and its derivatives are noticed in the sense of 'detailed explanation'. This usage is not unknown in classic Sanskrit in the śāstra texts. Thus Vācaspati Miśra's *Bhāmati-commentary* on Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya* is called *Vibhāga* and Vācaspati himself says in one of his introductory verses of the *Bhāmati*:

natvā viśuddhavijñānam śaṅkaram karuṇānidhim |  
bhāṣyam prasannagambhīram tatpraṇītam vibhajyate ||

This meaning of analysis and explanation is also seen in the grammatical technical term *Pravibhāga*; cf. Bhartṛhari, *Vākyapadiya*, II.316:

śabdārthāḥ pravibhajyante na rūpād eva kevalāt |

See also my *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, I. p. 94.

On p. 186, in art. 38.16 of his BHS Grammar, EDGERTON notes the gerund *Vighāṭya*, 'having opened' and says that Sanskrit knows only *Vighaṭayati*, and if long, only *Udghaṭayati*. In his BHS Dict. p. 483, he notes *Vighaṭayati* and makes the same observation.

Now 'ghaṭ with *vi* with elongation' in the sense of 'having opened' does occur in Sanskrit. See *Nāṭya Śāstra* V.12 (KM and Kasi editions):

vighāṭya vai yavanikām.

BHS Dict. p. 70<sup>b</sup>. *Avacara* which EDGERTON asserts is, despite a few rare occurrences, a Buddhist word, occurs regularly in the compound *Tālāvacara*, the musician whose province is *Tāla* and it occurs many times in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other later texts also.



BHS Dict. p. 176<sup>a</sup>. *Kāñcanamayī bhūmi*, the 'golden region' which lies in the north. This is evidently a reference to Uttara-Kurus to which Nāṭya Śāstra also refers. See Nāṭya Śāstra XX. 102, Kasi edn.:

hr̥dyā sarvā bhūmiḥ śubhagandhā kāñcanī yasmāt |

BHS Dict. p. 166. *Kathāvastu*. Cf. *vastu* in the sense of theme of a story, etc., is a very common word in Nāṭya Śāstra literature.

BHS Dict. p. 377. *Pratyālīḍha*. This well-known pose is described in Nāṭya Śāstra literature. Cf. Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, XI.69, Kasi edn.

BHS. Dict. p. 123. *Uttarakalā*. EDGERTON renders it as 'further, higher art' and adds, "No clue has been found as to precisely what is meant." Its precise meaning will be clear if we turn to Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtras where the Uttarakalās are referred to. The Uttarakalās are four, form part of the Pāñcālikī Catuṣṣaṣṭī, the 64 sexual arts codified by Pāñcāla, the final four of this series being called Uttarakalās. See especially Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana, Iiii.15 end.

BHS Dict. p. 317<sup>a</sup>. *Patracchedaka*. The note on this word shows that it cannot be explained merely on the basis of the BHS references. It is one of the sixty-four arts and is mentioned among accomplishments of fashionable gentlemen. It consists of the cutting of various designs on leaves as a means of whiling away time or engaging oneself when one is in company with friends and ladies; sometimes these cut-leaves carrying different kinds of significance are also sent by lovers as messages to their beloveds. See Kāma Sūtras Iiii.15, 16 and Jayamaṅgalā thereon and Kāma Sūtras III.iv.4,

patracchedyakriyāyām ca svābhiprāyasūcakam mithunam asyū darśayet and IV.iv. 38,

patracchedyāni nānābhiprāyākṛtīni darśayet

etc. Also Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanimata, 74, where, this is mentioned as an accomplishment, and a person with pretensions to fashion and culture carrying the scissors used for this leaf cutting.<sup>15</sup>

BHS Dict. p. 255<sup>b</sup>. *Tulākūṭa* and p. 429<sup>a</sup> *Mānakūṭa*, in the sense of fraud committed by merchants in respect of weights and measures can be traced in Sanskrit Dharma Śāstra literature under Vyavahāra. See Yājñavalkya, Vyavahāra, Sāhasa, 240:

tulāśāsanamānānām kūṭakṛt.

BHS Dict. p. 36<sup>b</sup>. *Anusmṛti*; mindfulness. It is not known why EDGERTON says this is "virtually non-existent in Sanskrit." It occurs twice in the Brahma Sūtras themselves, I.2.30 and II.2.25. In the Mahābhārata it

15. See also my Gleanings from Somadeva's Yaśastilaka Campū, Journal of the Gangānatha Jha Research Institute, I ii, p. 258; iii. p. 305.

occurs in the name of the well-known hymn *Bhīṣmānusr̥ti* and its related forms *Anusmarāṇa*, etc. occur freely in *Bhakti*-literature.

Similarly *Anusyūti* on the same page. In this same form and also in the forms *Anusyūta*, *Anusyūtatva*, it is commonly used, even now, in expositions of *Sāstra*-texts to refer to the continuity and internal connection between one passage and another in the text.

BHS Dict. p. 99. *Abhirūpya*. *Abhirūpa* of course is found in Sanskrit. For *Abhirūpya*, Appaya Dīkṣita's *Varadarājastava*, śloka 14, (Vani Vilas Press edn.) may be seen:

tad varṇayāmi bhavataḥ katham ābhirūpyam |

BHS Dict. pp. 84<sup>b</sup> and 111<sup>a</sup>. *Āsecanaka*. This is a word in common use in hymns where the deities are praised, particularly *Devī*-hymns: e.g. *mecakam āsecanakam mīthyādr̥ṣṭāntamadyabhāgam te |*

(*Navaratnamālā stotra*, verse 9, *Kāvya*mālā Guccaka V.)

BHS Dict. p. 315. *Pañcāṅgula*. This auspicious mark with the spread-out palm is mentioned in Sanskrit literature. See *Pratimānāṭaka*, Act. III, *Praveśaka*:

saudhavarṇakadattacandanapañcāṅgulā bhittayaḥ  
and *Harṣacarita*, Bāṇa's description of the palace on the eve of *Rājyaśrī*'s marriage:

piṣṭapañcāṅgulamaṇḍyamānolūkhalamusalasilādyupakaraṇam.

BHS Dict. p. 437. *Mṛga-dāva*, the deer-park of Sarnath. The word *dāva* or *daṇa*, forest, is preserved in Sanskrit in the compound 'forest-fire', *dāvāgnī* or *daṇāgnī*; *Kālidāsa* uses it separately also in *Raghuvamśa* II.8: *adhijyāḥanvā vicacāra dāvam*.

BHS Dict. p. 215<sup>a</sup>. *Gocara* in meaning no. 3, 'sustenance', 'food' and 'a village where it is available' may be compared with *Gocara* in classical Sanskrit in the sense of the cow's pasturage. Cf. *Kīrātārjuniya*, IV.10:

uparaitāḥ paścimarātriḥgocarāt

describing cattle.

BHS Dict. p. 216<sup>a</sup>. *Gotra*, meaning no. 2, 'mine'. In classical Sanskrit *Gotra* is well-known as mountain; 'mine' is only its extension. It may be noted also that in the BHS passages cited for this meaning of 'mine', the meaning 'mountain' which has etymologically basis, can equally apply.

BHS Dict. p. 217<sup>a</sup>. *Gopānasī* is said to be "rare in Sanskrit" and "an essentially Buddhist word". But see *Māgha*'s *Śiśupālavadha*, III.49:

gopānasiṃ kṣaṇam āsthītānām

in the description of mansions.



## ON TWO NEW INDO-ARYAN WORDS

BY

S. M. KATHE, Poona

### 1. Sanskrit \**kaj-jvala-*, \**kad-dyota-* 'fire-fly, glow worm'

For the Sanskrit word *kajjala-* m. a cloud, n. lamp-black, two variants have been recorded by MONIER-WILLIAMS in his Dictionary as *kajjēala-* and *kajvala-*. However, it is an interesting fact that for a fire-fly or glow worm Koṅkaṇī preserves the word *kājjūḷo* and Marāṭhī *kājvā*. The normal word for this in Sanskrit is *khadyota-* attested in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, on the basis of which another word *kha-jyotiḥ-* is recorded in the Rājanighaṇṭu as quoted in Śabdakalpadruma.

The Koṅkaṇī form goes back to OIA \**kaj-jvala-ka-* which is paralleled by the form \**kad-dyota-ka-* from which Marāṭhī *kājvā* is derived. The use of *kad*, *kim-*, *ku-* as prior members of compounds marking the uselessness, badness or defectiveness of what follows appears, therefore, to have been a living element in the Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages as attested by the Koṅkaṇī and Marāṭhī forms for the glow worm.

### 2. Sanskrit *kapāla*

The Koṅkaṇī word *kav<sup>a</sup>ḷigā<sup>1</sup>* indicates a medium or large-sized vessel usually made of copper or brass in which rice is cooked or water is boiled. While the Sanskrit word *kapāla-* 'cup, jar, dish (used especially for the Puroḍāśa offering)' and its compounds *aṣṭākapāla-* 'prepared or offered in eight pans', *pāñcakapāla-* 'prepared in five cups or bowls' do not survive in other IA languages the Koṅkaṇī form appears to preserve an isolated inherited form in its original meaning. The suffix *-(i)gā* in *kav<sup>a</sup>ḷigā* seems to parallel that found in *ṭṭigā* 'a brick' < Sk. *ṭṭakā* for which Kannaḍa dialects have *ṭṭigē*. Koṅkaṇī has borrowed here from Kannaḍa as in other loan-words from Kannaḍa such as *vantiḡā* < Kan. *vantiḡē* 'subscription'.

These two survivals of OIA usages in NIA languages, particularly the uncultivated dialects, indicates how rich the dialectal field is in capturing vocables which ultimately show the linguistic wealth of unrecorded OIA and NIA dialects.

1. Cf. Kan. 'kav<sup>a</sup>ḷigā' (a) Siva's alms-pot, a skull; (b) a kind of metal vessel of various dimensions (My.)—recorded in KRITTEL'S Kan.-Eng. Dictionary.

# SINHALESE DICTIONARY

*An Effort in Modern Indo-Aryan Lexicography*

BY

Julius de LANEROLLE, *Ceylon*

## I. *Introductory*

1. Sinhalese is admittedly the most developed and probably the most mixed of all the modern Indo-Aryan languages. It can claim to be unique in one or two other respects as well. For one thing, it is easily the first among the spoken languages of the Indo-Aryan group to develop literary activity; and, what is more, it has also preserved an unbroken succession of records spread over a period of two thousand years. It is to be noted, therefore, that in the Sinhalese language and its vast literature is found a very interesting field for lexicographical research. The following is a brief account of a pioneering enterprise undertaken in that field.

## II. *An Earlier Effort*

2. There are several ancient *nighaṇṭus* and practical dictionaries of Sinhalese, but the idea of compiling a comprehensive Sinhalese Dictionary on scientific and historical lines was first mooted in 1884 by Dr Reinhold Rost, the eminent Orientalist and Librarian of the India Office. It was shortly after the first volume of the New Oxford English Dictionary was published that he wrote to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the subject. His letter addressed to Sir John F. Dickson, who was then President of the Society, was read at a General Meeting held on 4 October of that year. A full discussion followed and a Committee of four members was appointed to take necessary steps in the matter. They indexed a few Sinhalese texts and prepared what was called a "Specimen Vocabulary", taking Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary for their model; but they achieved nothing worthy of note before the whole undertaking was eventually given up. This marked the first effort made by the Society, or by anybody at all, at least to lay the foundation of a systematic Sinhalese Dictionary. It could hardly be regarded as a bad failure, though, because time was then by no means ripe for a scientific undertaking of that kind.



### III. *Present Effort*

3. But it stands to the lasting credit of the Society that its second effort was crowned with such unqualified success as can be seen from its magnificent performance in planning the present Sinhalese Dictionary on modern scientific lines and issuing six English and five Sinhalese parts before the whole organization was handed to the University College which later developed into the University of Ceylon. This second project too had a chequered career, and was not without near-failures. It nearly broke down twice—once under the Society, and once under the University itself.

4. After a long period of inaction it was Sir Cecil Clementi who, as President of the Society, brought the matter to the forefront and gave it the practical shape which it took immediately after his departure from the Island. In the course of his farewell Presidential Address delivered on 7 October 1925 he stressed the importance of compiling a Sinhalese Dictionary on historical and scientific principles after examining all essential facts of the language. He had clear-cut views of the subject and wanted the Dictionary to be so designed as to help not only a fuller understanding of the language but also the rapid growth of a modern literature. Accordingly, in 1926, the Society decided to undertake the compilation of a Sinhalese Dictionary the aim of which "should be to give an adequate account of the origin, meaning and history of every Sinhalese word, old or new, found in inscriptions, in books, or in common speech."

### IV. *International Co-operation*

5. In 1925, when Sir Cecil Clementi gave his farewell address to the Society, the Government of Ceylon had already made arrangements for Professor Wilhelm Geiger, of Munich, to pay a visit to this country in connection with his translation of the *Cūḷavamsa*. Sir Cecil, knowing as he did the importance of the co-operation of European scholars in the work connected with the proposed Sinhalese Dictionary, took the opportunity of making a special reference to that eminent scholar's impending visit. He hoped, he said, that Professor Geiger would not be allowed to go away without giving the Society his views as to the lines upon which the dictionary could best be prepared.

6. Professor Geiger was eventually consulted. After a careful study of the Society's proposal he submitted a Report, dated 3 February 1926, setting forth in brief outline what organization there should be and what form the dictionary itself should take. His recommendations, though very sound and generally acceptable to all schools of modern scholarship, somehow escaped the attention of the early Editors who in March 1927 started the work according to a plan of their own.



7. In the meantime, the Board of Studies in Comparative Philology, University of London, at a meeting held on 22 October 1926, had unanimously passed the following resolution:

"This Board welcomes the project of producing a dictionary of the Sinhalese language on historical lines, and, in view of the important position which Sinhalese holds in the comparative study of the Indo-Aryan languages, ventures to express the hope that the etymological portion of the said dictionary will be dealt with by scholars thoroughly versed in Comparative Philology."

After the work of the Dictionary had progressed for more than a year the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists (Oxford 1928), at which the first Editor-in-Chief (Sir D. B. Jayatilaka) read a paper giving an account of the progress that had been made so far, passed a resolution urging the desirability of appointing a Consultative Committee of Comparative Philologists to advise the Editors. In pursuance of this resolution a London Committee was duly formed, to whom a set of specimen entries prepared by the Editors was submitted for report. After a careful examination of the entries the London Committee suggested a number of important and far-reaching improvements, which the authorities in Ceylon decided to adopt in full measure. But the London scholars declined to continue as official consultants under the circumstances then prevailing, and so took place the first crisis noted above. It then became evident that the personal direction of a competent scholar from abroad was necessary; and, accordingly, Professor Geiger was invited to frame the general plan of the Dictionary in accordance with his Report of 1926.

#### V. Editorial Treatment

8. For the purpose of collecting materials two specially designed forms were used at the beginning; but these were eventually given up, it being found unnecessary to make separate lists of words. With the arranging of words in alphabetical order, which brought together hundreds and thousands of cards bearing the same word or phrase, the third stage of the work was reached. This part of the scheme had made considerable progress when Professor Geiger was invited. He arrived in Ceylon accompanied by Mrs. Geiger in December 1931, and worked for more than three months examining the vast materials accumulated in the Dictionary Office. His investigations resulted in the final plan of the Dictionary which, as can be seen from the scheme given below, consists in a mode of editorial treatment not only historical and etymological but also comparative and descriptive. It was only after this plan was evolved that real editorial treatment was effectively started. For, it must be remembered that no systematization of the basic materials could



possibly be undertaken without first fixing the plan of the Dictionary. This systematizing process, with which the work entered upon its fourth stage of development, was soon found to be bristling with unforeseen difficulties, especially owing to the defective manner in which the collections had been handled by untrained workers. A good many of the voluntary helpers and almost all the competitors who took part in a word-collecting competition were eventually found to have done their work most unmethodically and with no regard for accuracy or precision. Even some members of the Office staff themselves had done no better. Despite these imperfections, Professor Geiger found the materials accumulated in the Dictionary Office quite ample for the purpose and the work done so far unmistakably helpful. The whole editorial work was ever since carried on under the able guidance of Professor Geiger who, at the invitation of the Managing Committee, consented to hold the position of Director on the Editorial Board. With him was throughout associated Professor Helmer Smith as consultant, and the present writer as the only working Editor.

#### VI. *Extra Work Done*

9. *Sinhalese Texts.* From the very outset the fact had to be taken into account that the printed Sinhalese classical texts, except a very few handled by really able scholars, were at that time in a state of hopeless corruption; so much so, that it was found impossible to proceed with the work of the Dictionary without first bringing out standard editions of some at least of the most important ones. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka then decided to undertake the formidable task of collating a large number of old Manuscripts and bringing out critical editions of several Sinhalese texts, from which to quote in the Dictionary. This work was done with the active co-operation of the whole Staff, but the books were printed at his own expense. The texts so issued were as follows:-

Saddharmaratnāvalīya (in full)	..	1,032 pp. Royal 8vo
Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya (in full)	..	290 pp. Demy 8vo
Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya (in part)	..	244 pp. Demy 8vo
Pansiyapanas Jātaka Pota (in part)	..	202 pp. Royal 8vo

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Total .. 1,768 pp.

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10. *Orthography.* In view of the corrupt condition of a large number of other printed texts and the consequent confusion prevailing in respect of spelling, it was also found necessary, before proceeding far with editorial work, to ascertain the principles of the traditional orthographic system that



had been consistently followed in all Sinhalese writings right up to the 16th century. This proved by no means an easier task because nearly all the available old Manuscripts of the ancient texts were mere transcripts made after the confusion had set in. But this research too was entered upon in right earnest and, as a result, not only the principles of the orthographic system but also its historical development were successfully traced. At Professor Geiger's special request some results of these researches were published in 1934. And they have ever since been very helpful in solving many a problem arising out of the corrupt texts.

11. *Grammar*. Sir Cecil's parting advice (as reported in the *Journal CBRAS*, xxx 78, p. 68) was that the preparation of an historical grammar of the Sinhalese language should be taken in hand after the dictionary had been compiled. He even cited two models to follow, namely, Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar and Brochet's Historical French Grammar. But, as the editorial work of the Dictionary began to expand, it was soon found necessary to fix the grammatical relations of the language before further progress was made. Professor Geiger had therefore to undertake the preparation of a new Sinhalese Grammar based on the notes which he had collected since the publication of his earlier Grammar in 1900. The new Grammar so prepared was published in 1938.

12. *Glossary*. Professor Geiger's Scientific Glossary of Sinhalese words, first published in 1897, was also revised and issued in an enlarged edition, mainly for the benefit of those scholars in other countries who took an active interest in researches connected with the Sinhalese Dictionary.

13. *Land and Revenue Terms*. As has been aptly pointed out by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka in his Preface to the Dictionary (p. xi), there are still to be found hidden in temple libraries and in the possession of certain individuals a considerable variety of old documents, such as *sannas*, *tudapat*, *sittu* etc., coming down from the time of Sinhalese kings and relating to grants of lands, transfers, mortgages, decisions of cases and other matters of a similar character. These Manuscripts often contain words of a technical nature which, though their exact meanings are no longer remembered, are yet of great ethnological and linguistic value. A fairly large collection of these records found in Government possession was examined and indexed by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka himself, who was thus able to add to the Dictionary a considerable number of most interesting words and phrases which would otherwise have gone unnoticed and unheard of. But when the time came for giving "an adequate account of the origin, meaning and history" of those words and phrases it was found well-nigh impossible to do so without first making a comprehensive study of the subjects themselves in which they were involved. This special research too had to be undertaken by a single worker who had to study for



that purpose no less than two thousand unpublished documents together with all modern authorities on the land tenure and revenue systems of ancient Ceylon.

### VII. Scheme of Work

14. The scheme of the dictionary work proper was one of gradual development. It necessarily represented a lengthy process and was somewhat of a complex nature. The numerous operations involved in it could be resolved into ten stages, as follows :—

- (a) Collecting words and phrases from books, inscriptions, common speech etc. on cards (specially designed lists having been given up at an early stage).
- (b) Arranging cards in alphabetical order.
- (c) Systematizing basic materials: (1) examining every individual card under a single word or phrase, referring it back to its original source, and ascertaining the meaning it bears in that particular context; (2) making exact copies of all the quotable passages on the cards themselves; (3) separating those cards that bear the same word into homonymic categories; (4) studying the development of meaning under each homonym in historical order; (5) noting down in each case the idiomatic uses and specialized meanings.
- (d) Tracing the historical development of forms by means of fresh researches.
- (e) (1) Where there are doubtful readings in the printed books, verifying them with Manuscripts. (2) Writing rough articles.
- (f) Revising rough articles with special attention to philological and comparative information.
- (g) Setting the articles in type and reading the first proofs.
- (h) Consulting experts and incorporating their advice.
- (i) Reading the second proofs and checking the references and cross-references.
- (j) Reading and passing page proofs.

### VIII. Criticisms

15. When the first part of the Dictionary was published in 1935, criticisms came from all quarters, representing all shades of opinion both modern and traditional. There was general satisfaction among scholars and nobody

criticised the work adversely, not even those who proceeded to cavil at minor details.

16. *Time-lag.* There was, however, considerable blame laid on the Editors and the Management for the seemingly inordinate delay involved in the work. That was mainly because the whole project was taken in hand with a promise to finish it in five years. But the unforeseen difficulties experienced by the Editors were not generally known at that time, nor were the unpredictable complications inherent in a scientific work of a purely pioneering nature undertaken on a large scale. Some of these have already been briefly enumerated above under the heading "Extra Work Done" (paragraphs 9-13). Since the plan of the Sinhalese Dictionary is admittedly a very comprehensive one, and somewhat similar to that of the New Oxford Dictionary, a comparison between the two ought to prove interesting, especially in respect of the time needed for such an undertaking. The Sinhalese Dictionary, when completed, is hardly expected to be of the same gigantic size as the Oxford Dictionary is; but it nevertheless comprises a more complicated process. When the work of the Oxford Dictionary was first begun, the whole grammar of the English language had been scientifically and historically settled; nearly all the etymologizable words had been properly etymologized; and all English texts had been systematically and critically edited; whereas in the case of Sinhalese practically every one of these essentials had to be done by the Editors themselves. When the Oxford Dictionary was first taken in hand, there were other standard dictionaries of the English language, such as Johnson's, Ogilvy's and Webster's, all of which undoubtedly proved helpful in the new undertaking. As a matter of fact, the Oxford Dictionary was started as an attempt "to complete the vocabulary of existing dictionaries and to supply the historical information which they lacked". In the case of the Sinhalese Dictionary, it had no such earlier works to profit by, the existing practical dictionaries being of little avail. When the work of the Oxford Dictionary was organized, more than 800 voluntary readers offered their help, and this number eventually rose to 1,300. The Sinhalese Dictionary had only 50 such volunteers to help in its work, and they read only one text each. As regards the time needed for the completion of a work of this nature, experience has shown that it can never be estimated with any degree of certainty. Mr. Coleridge, the first Editor of the Oxford Dictionary, after the work took its formal shape and progressed for about two years, was confident enough to refer to his programme in the following terms: "I believe that the scheme is now firmly established . . . and I confidently expect . . . that in about two years we shall be able to give our first number to the world. Indeed, were it not for the dilatoriness of many contributors, I should not hesitate to name an earlier period". This was written on 30 May 1860. Coleridge died in April 1861, after which Dr Murray was appointed Editor. The first part



of the Dictionary, which Coleridge promised to publish in about 1862, was actually issued 22 years later, on 1 February 1884; that is to say, 26 years after the work was first started by the Philological Society. On 16 May 1884 Murray said that "it might be possible . . . . . to produce two parts in the year, and thus finish the whole in 11 years from next March". This estimate too proved incorrect. For, it was in 1928 that the last part of the Dictionary was issued, i.e., 44 years from 1884 and 70 long years after the work was first begun.

17. *A Misunderstanding.* Certain misgivings were expressed in the press when the Sinhalese-English version first appeared without any allusion to a Sinhalese-Sinhalese Dictionary. On this score there was some criticism, but that criticism was all based on the assumption that no decision had ever been made to issue a Sinhalese-Sinhalese Dictionary for the benefit of the Sinhalese reading public. In point of fact, however, the very first decision taken by the authorities was to prepare both versions, though the publication of the English version was given priority, with a view to eliciting criticism from international scholars. Later, after the Sinhalese version began to be issued, the Managing Committee decided to bring the two versions abreast of each other.

18. Once the Sinhalese version was published, appreciations were not slow in coming—even from those who had expressed their misgivings in strong terms. The late Very Rev. Father S. G. Perera, S. J., who was one of the foremost critics of the Dictionary, was the first to review it in the local press (*Ceylon Daily News*, 10 September, 1937). His views, as representing those of an intelligent critic, may not be found amiss in this connection. The opening para of his review was as follows:

"The compilers of the Sinhalese Dictionary must be heartily congratulated on the production of this excellent Sinhalese edition, scientifically conceived and carefully edited with etymological explanations, and illustrated by examples taken from the whole range of Sinhalese literature. This is not only the first Sinhalese Dictionary of its kind but also an epoch-making work which is destined to have an abiding influence on the literature of the future. Its chief claim to our esteem is that the editors have sought to give, as far as can be ascertained, the etymology and the various meanings of every word. That is admittedly a task bristling with difficulties and the present reviewer wishes to pay his tribute of praise to the penetration and perspicacity shown by the editors".

19. The review was a considerably exhaustive one, in the course of which the learned critic referred not only to some of the good points, but also to many apparently bad ones. At the same time, however, he did not



omit to mention that whatever short-comings he came upon were of minor importance. His concluding remarks were significant:

"Such trivial errors are inevitable in a work of this sort and I conclude, as I have begun, by warmly congratulating all concerned in the production of this Dictionary".

20. In fairness to the Editors it must also be stated that even of such "trivial errors" many pointed out by Father Perera and several others could no longer be regarded as errors, in the light of the explanations offered by the Editors. But they never claimed their work to be without errors and omissions. In fact, there are many more serious ones than those the critics have pointed out, and it is hoped that all these will be duly corrected and supplied when the Dictionary comes to be revised.

#### IX. *Under the University*

21. The Dictionary, after it came under the aegis of the University, passed through the second crisis noted above (para. 3). As soon as the work was transferred to the University, the Editor made certain far-reaching suggestions with a view to making the Dictionary the nucleus of a research establishment within the framework of the University organization, but the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Ivor Jennings) was not prepared to accept any such proposals. Seemingly better counsel prevailed and the Dictionary was at once made part of the Sinhalese Department under the Faculty of Oriental Studies, when the Editor was obliged to resign. The University authorities, without so much as consulting the Government, then suspended the work of the Main Dictionary and started the compilation of what was called a Shorter Dictionary. With the Editor's departure came all European consultation also to an end. After more than six years' work, one part of the Shorter Dictionary was issued. It was very adversely criticised in the press, and a question was raised in Parliament demanding the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate into the suspension of the Main Dictionary and other relevant matters.

22. The University Senate, in the meantime, decided to abandon the work of the Shorter Dictionary and to resume the Main Dictionary more or less on the same lines as were suggested by the quondam Editor just before he left. He then came back and re-organized the Dictionary Establishment in accordance with his original plan and started work from the point at which he had left it nearly seven years before. During his absence nothing had been done on the main dictionary. As soon as he resumed the work he wrote to Sir Ralph Turner (London), Prof. Jules Bloch (Paris) and Prof. Helmer Smith (Uppsala)—Professor Geiger had meanwhile passed away—intimating them of his having undertaken the work for the second time and inviting their kind help as consultants. They readily agreed—not officially, of course,



but as a matter of personal favour to the Editor. The whole Establishment is now on a sound footing, and so far there are more than eight parts, both English and Sinhalese, ready for the printer.

#### *X. Some Lessons From Experience*

23. The inner history of the Sinhalese Dictionary offers many a useful lesson to those who are bent on similar ventures in other Indian languages. So much so, that a brief recapitulation of some of the experiences in that direction can hardly be found amiss. It would appear that the wasteful experiment just referred to cost the University well over half a million rupees, quite apart from the deadly effect it had on the smooth progress of the Main Dictionary. The Vice-Chancellor was probably justified, under the circumstances, in suspending the work of the Main Dictionary; but the Shorter Dictionary experiment should never have been tried without expert guidance. It would be interesting in this connection to note that a similar proposal was made at one stage to the Royal Asiatic Society also, but the Society simply rejected it out of hand. It was pointed out on that occasion that the money voted from public funds was not for a practical or shorter dictionary but for one the aim of which was "to give an adequate account of the origin, meaning, and history, of every Sinhalese word".

24. It will be seen from paragraph 8 above that, from the time the dictionary was first started up to the arrival of Prof. Geiger in Ceylon, a period of four years was spent more or less on speculative work a good part of which, latterly, either proved unnecessary or called for revision. Had there been expert planning from the very outset all this wastage of time and labour could have been eliminated.

25. As stated above, the whole dictionary project was taken in hand with a promise to finish it in 5 years. This only shows that during the early stages everything was done without having a correct perspective of the undertaking. On this point one need hardly expatiate, especially in view of what has already been said in paragraph 16.

26. It is perhaps true that there will always be extra work to do in connection with an undertaking of this nature. But the extent of such work should be properly controlled, in a well-planned scheme. In the case of the Sinhalese Dictionary it assumed abnormal proportions because there was confusion in the early planning, with the result that the whole burden of extra research had to be borne by Professor Geiger and the Editor. Each of the extra operations enumerated in paragraphs 10-13 had to be undertaken either by the one or the other all by himself—and that, in the midst of his normal editorial work. It need hardly be said that future dictionary-makers in Indian languages will do well to avoid such situations in their planning.



## AN ANALYSIS OF THE SYLLABLE IN BORO

BY

J. BURTON-PAGE, *London*

0.0. The following observations are based on the speech of Mr. Bhabendro NARZI, who during May and June 1955 was attached to the Summer School of Linguistics held at the Deccan College, Poona, as an informant for one of the classes of advanced students working in Field Methods of Descriptive Analysis. Mr. NARZI (hereafter referred to as N.) is a native speaker of the language referred to in the LSI<sup>1</sup> as 'Boḍo' or 'Plains Kachāri', here spelt *Boro* in accordance with the findings below. He is in his early twenties, and comes from the neighbourhood of Gauhati, Assam, where he works as a pleader's clerk. I wish to thank him here for his willing co-operation, and also the members of the class who worked with him under my direction, particularly Mr. P. C. BHATTACHARYA. Some of the results of the work of this class are presented here, and it is my great pleasure to offer them to Dr. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI on this occasion.

0.1. The period of time available for work with the informant did not allow a study of the Boro language sufficiently intensive to enable a detailed account of all its phonetic and phonological features to be presented here; it has therefore been decided to restrict the scope of the present study to an account of such phonetic, phonological and tonal data as appear relevant to a description of the syllable, particularly the monosyllable in disjunction. It must be borne in mind that as these observations are based on the utterances of a single speaker they cannot be considered as necessarily having any wider relevance; they are thus tentative, and are not to be interpreted as a final treatment of the Boro language as a whole.

0.2. N. was familiar with a system of orthography in which a modification of the Assamese script is used, hereafter referred to as the Boro script, and somewhat less familiar with a Roman script in use by missionaries working in the Boro areas. Neither of these orthographies is sufficiently systematic to account for all the relevant data of the language as now recorded, and the systematic transcription used here, which represents an analysis

1. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III Part 2. It must be remembered that the 'Boḍo' material in that work, like that in S. EXNER's *Outline Grammar of the Kachāri (Boro) Language* (Shillong, 1884) on which it was largely based, is drawn from the dialect of Darrang, which differs from that recorded here in several particulars.



of the data at the phonological level, does not necessarily coincide with either the missionary script or any possible transliteration of the Boro script. This 'systematic' transcription is given in *italic type*.

It is regretted that, owing to the impossibility of procuring I.P.A. founts in time for this publication, no close phonetic transcription of the examples can be given. Detailed description has been given, in general phonetic terms, of the phonetic realizations of the phonological units, which it is hoped will prove adequate; the systematic transcription is not to be interpreted as a phonetic representation.

1.0. It has been found necessary to postulate the following phonological units for the analysis which follows:—

TABLE 1

	Bilabial	Denti-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal and Pre-glottal
CONSONANTS.					
Stop/Plosive	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>k g</i>	
Fricative			<i>s z</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Lateral		<i>l</i>			
Rolled/tapped		<i>r</i>			
Constricted	<i>w</i>		<i>ɣ</i>		
VOWELS					
Close			<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	
Mid			<i>e e o</i>		
Open			<i>a</i>		

1.00. It will be observed from the table above that a distinction has been made between 'vowels' and 'consonants'. This distinction is based on phonological rather than on phonetic criteria: only the six units tabulated

under 'vowels' can function as nuclei of syllables, and all other units are regarded as 'consonants'. For the most part these distinctions follow the phonetic data; in some cases, however—e.g., when dealing with what are phonetically successions of initial consonants—the phonetic and phonological interpretations will differ.

1.1. The six vowel units *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *ɔ*, *u* are interpreted phonetically, with reference to tone and stress, as follows:—

1.10. *i* and *e* represent close and mid unrounded front vowels respectively. *i* in Tone 1<sup>2</sup> syllables is very close, almost cardinal vowel No. 1; in Tone 2 syllables it represents a less close vowel, and in Tone 3 syllables a vowel even more lowered from this, and somewhat retracted. A similar range of degrees of closure may be used in the description of *e*: almost cardinal vowel No. 2 in 1S, an opener variety in 2S, and a variety more open still, approaching cardinal vowel No. 3 but more retracted, in 3S. E.g.,

<sup>1</sup> si	cloth
<sup>2</sup> bi	he
<sup>3</sup> si	be wet
<sup>1</sup> der	increase
<sup>2</sup> se	one
ku <sup>2</sup> ser	sugar-cane

1.100. In unstressed syllables it has been necessary to recognize only one front vowel, written *i* in an initial syllable which bears no tone-mark. This is interpreted phonetically with variations from a voiceless tense front vowel of very short duration to a voiceless alveolo-palatal or palatal fricative, as in:—

pi <sup>1</sup> sa	son
si <sup>1</sup> kla	young girl

1.11. *a* represents an open unrounded vowel, front in 1S, almost cardinal vowel No. 4; back in 3S, almost cardinal vowel No. 5; and between these two in 2S. E.g.,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ha	yes, what is it?
<sup>2</sup> ha	land
<sup>3</sup> ha	cut
<sup>1</sup> baybay	broken
<sup>2</sup> baybay	bought

2. For a description of the tones and the system of marking them, see Section 21. 'Tone 1 Syllable' is abbreviated by 1S, 'Tone 2 Syllable' by 2S, 'Tone 3 Syllable' by 3S.

3. Verbs are marked according to word- and not syllable-tone; cf. Section 2.10.



1.110. In unstressed syllables in connected speech *a* may be interpreted phonetically by an unrounded mid-central vowel.

1.12. *o* is interpreted as a half-open back rounded vowel, between cardinal vowels 6 and 7, in 1S and 2S, and as an open back rounded vowel, almost cardinal vowel 5, in 3S. E.g.,

<sup>1</sup> <i>hor</i>	give
<sup>2</sup> <i>hor</i>	night
<sup>3</sup> <i>hor</i>	hang down

A closer variety of this has been observed in open syllables in final position, e.g., <sup>2</sup>*bo<sup>2</sup>ro* Boro.

A central off-glide was frequently recorded where *o* is followed by *n* or *ŋ*.

1.120. *o* is not represented by a special vowel-sign in the Boro script, but is assumed as the 'inherent vowel'; and, in all cases of Assamese words in Boro which have been recorded in N.'s speech, is the Boro equivalent of the Assamese 'inherent vowel'.

1.13. *u* is interpreted as a fairly close back vowel, more or less unrounded. In 1S it is tense, and somewhat more advanced than cardinal vowel 8; in 2S and 3S it is rather more lax and somewhat lowered. E.g.,

<sup>1</sup> <i>sur</i>	circling
<sup>2</sup> <i>sur</i>	who?
<sup>3</sup> <i>sur</i>	iron

1.130. In unstressed syllables it has been necessary to recognize only one back vowel, written *u* in an initial syllable which bears no tone-mark. This is interpreted phonetically with variations from a voiceless tense unrounded back vowel of very short duration to a voiceless bilabial or labiodental fricative, as in:—

<i>tu<sup>2</sup>tri</i>	front of face, muzzle
<i>ku<sup>3</sup>a</i>	mist
<i>ku<sup>1</sup>ga</i>	bird's beak

These examples, as those in Section 1.100, are phonetically monosyllables. Their phonological analysis as disyllables is supported by the Boro script.

1.14. *e* is here used to represent an unrounded vowel the range of which varies from half-close and back to close or half-close and central; its range therefore overlaps partially with that of *o*, partially with that of *u*, but it is always distinguished from these by tense lip-spreading.

This range does not appear to be correlated with tone; a correlation was, however, observed between the quality of *ə* as the vowel-nucleus of a verbal particle with the quality of the vowel-nucleus of a preceding, syntactically bound, verbal root. E.g., where the verbal root has a back vowel as its nucleus, as in<sup>4</sup>:-

<sup>2</sup> be <sup>2</sup> taŋtoŋ	let him live long
<sup>2</sup> nu <sup>2</sup> hərdəŋ	it can be heard
<sup>2</sup> aŋ <sup>2</sup> labədəŋ	I am carrying

the vowel *ə* in the particles *-toŋ* and *-dəŋ* is back in quality, whereas in the following examples, where the verbal root has a front vowel as its nucleus:-

<sup>2</sup> be <sup>1</sup> taŋtoŋ	let him go
<sup>2</sup> be <sup>1</sup> paɪdəŋ	he is coming
<sup>2</sup> be <sup>3</sup> liɾdəŋ	he is writing

the vowel *ə* of these particles is advanced to a central position.

1.2. The sixteen consonant-units postulated in Table 1, Section 1.0, represent a total of individual occurrences with reference neither to combination one with the other nor to syllabic place; as will be demonstrated later, the total number of potential commuting consonants in each place is limited (cf. Sections 2.21, 2.23). The phonetic interpretation of these units is described below.

1.20. *p t k* as word-initials are voiceless plosives, respectively bilabial, denti-alveolar and velar, accompanied by a feature which has been described as 'aspiration'.<sup>4</sup> The nature of this 'aspiration', however, varies according to the quality of the following vowel, and would be more precisely described as a complex voiceless friction homorganic partly with the consonant and partly with the vowel following.

As syllable-initials in word-medial position *p* and *k* have been frequently recorded without occlusion. In N.'s speech there appeared to be free variation between articulations with and articulations without occlusion at all tempi of utterance, though with the non-occluded variants occurring most frequently in the faster tempi.

These units are not considered as syllable-finals, for which see the following section.

4 E.g., in the LSI, loc. cit., and elsewhere. This interpretation seems to be at least partly implicit in the Boro script, which represents these units by those characters which are usually described as 'aspirated consonants' in terms of the Assamese script. No difference has been observed between words where these (usually transcribed *kh*, *th*, *ph*) are written and words where the 'unaspirated consonants' (usually transcribed *k*, *t*, *p*) are written (e.g., in loanwords from Assamese.).



1.200. *b d g* as syllable-initials represent bilabial, denti-alveolar and velar plosives<sup>5</sup> respectively, with voicing but without the complex 'aspiration'-feature of *p t k*.

As syllable-finals *b* and *d* may be written (the velar has not been recorded in final position). There is in such position no contrast between voiceless/voiced or between aspirated/non-aspirated, and therefore this context requires only one bilabial and one denti-alveolar term; the phonetic features of these finals when in junction (cf. *si<sup>1</sup> kre<sup>2</sup>b* *sub*, smoke a cigarette, where the final *-b* is tense and voiceless, contra *2aŋ si<sup>1</sup> kre<sup>2</sup>b* *suba*, I don't smoke, where the *-b-* of *suba* is voiced and somewhat lax) have led to the selection of *b* and *d* rather than *p* and *t*; but this is entirely a matter of convenience, and is not to be interpreted as having any other significance. These symbols in this context, then, represent (a) voiceless unexploded stops before pause and before voiceless syllable-initials, and (b) voiced stops, unexploded before voiced consonantal syllable-initials, or voiced plosives before vowels.

1.21. *s* and *z* represent respectively voiceless and voiced fricative articulations ranging from alveolar to palatal; in some cases observed these were preceded by occlusion, thereby giving the acoustic impression of affricates. No examples, however, were recorded where such affricates were the only variants possible; in all cases investigated variation between affricated and non-affricated forms could occur, and nowhere was any instance recorded of lexical differentiation depending on contrast between these two varieties. From an investigation of the scatter of these forms it appears that *s* is most commonly interpreted as a fricative in all positions, *z* usually fricative before front vowels and, when not initial in the word, before back vowels also. When initial in a word *z* was more frequently affricated before back vowels. In the junction context *-Nz-*, where *N* indicates a nasal consonant, only the affricate has been recorded.

The place of articulation of *s* and *z* depends on the nature of the following vowel: before *i* and *e* both are alveolo-palatal, before *o* and *u* both are palato-alveolar, before *a* and *ə* between palato-alveolar and alveolar, in all cases with tongue-tip down; in the initial context *fricative plus r*, both *s* and *z* are interpreted as alveolar.

1.22. *h* represents a pulmonic effort whose resonance accords with that of a following vowel, without voice in 1S and 2S; in 3S there is frequently some voicing.<sup>6</sup>

5. Occasionally a laxly articulated variety of *g* is heard medially in the word. In *N*'s pronunciation there was free variation between tense and lax varieties.

6. cf. Section 2.21.



1.23. *m n ŋ* are interpreted as bilabial, denti-alveolar and velar nasals respectively, and all are voiced in all positions. *ŋ* has not been recorded in initial position. These three units in contexts other than sentence-initial may be regarded as foci<sup>7</sup> of prosodies of nasalization whose relevance is initiated with a preceding vowel.

1.24. *l* is a voiced alveolar lateral without friction,<sup>8</sup> whose resonance accords with that of a following vowel.

A palatalized variety of *l* has been observed in *ʔgoʔler* 'alligator' (loanword from Assamese *ghariyāl*?).

1.25. *r* represents a voiced alveolar rolled or flapped sound, with two or more taps when initial or medial, usually with only one tap or flap when the second member of an initial complex or when final. As a final in IS before pause, variation was recorded between [*r*ʔ] and [*r*?]; for the prosodic nature of the glottal stop, cf. Section 2.1.

1.26. *w* and *y* represent velar and palatal constrictions corresponding to the vowels *u* and *i*, but of shorter duration and greater tenseness, [*w*] and [*j*] respectively.

*w* and *y* have been used to represent the closing features of the so-called 'diphthongs' *aw*, *ay*, *ow*, and *oy*; in all cases these agree with other consonants in their patterning, and it has not been found necessary to establish a phonological category of 'diphthongs', since these can in all cases be considered as vowel plus consonant.

1.3. Other phonetic features have been recorded which have not been specifically noted above, such as junction-forms between syllables and between words, and between either of these with pause. As no attempt is being made in this paper to delimit the Boro word on formal grounds the exponents of junction are not being considered here, except in so far as they are implicit in the processes used to set up phonological categories and to establish the categories of tone.

2.0. A syllable may, of course be considered as a phonetic description or as a phonological abstraction; it is sometimes convenient to refer to both phonetic and phonological syllables in Boro. By 'phonetic syllable' is here meant an utterance with one nucleus bearing a point of high sonority; by

7. For 'focus', see W. S. Allen, 'Some Prosodic Aspects of Retroflexion and Aspiration in Sanskrit', *BSOAS* XIII, 939-946, and 'Retroflexion in Sanskrit: Prosodic Technique and its Relevance to Comparative Statement', *BSOAS* XVI, 556-565. For an application of this in the description of a Tibeto-Burman language, see my own 'Two Studies in Gurungkaru', *BSOAS* XVII, p. 117.

8. Slight friction with voicelessness has been observed in N's pronunciation of *ʔdeʔkil* 'yesterday'.



'phonological syllable' is understood a formulaic statement of an abstraction from utterance, whose nature is defined more fully in the following sections. For example, the words analysed as consisting of two phonological syllables such as *tu* <sup>2</sup>*tri*, *pi* <sup>1</sup>*səi* and *ku* <sup>2</sup>*ser* (cf. Section 1.100 and 1.130 above) comprise only one phonetic syllable. The following descriptions apply to the phonological syllable only unless the phonetic syllable is expressly mentioned.

2.00. The syllable may be described in terms of placed and unplaced features.<sup>9</sup> Features considered as having no place are tone, intonation (pitch) and stress, and other prosodic features, as those of interverbal and intraverbal junctions, while place is assigned to components of the syllable initial, nucleus and final.

2.1. Of the unplaced features, intonation and stress are more conveniently considered as abstractions from units longer than the syllable, and are thus excluded in principle from this paper, although the results of a study of these are implicit in the tonal categories which have been set up. Similarly, the prosodies of junction are not considered here, *vide* Section 1.3. Tone, however, is (for non-verbs; cf. Section 2.10 below) more conveniently treated as a function of the syllable.

By tone is meant the totality of the features associated with the utterance of the syllable as a whole but which have no assignable place, excluding intonation as a term of the sentence and excluding stress also. For the descriptions which follow the 'syllable in isolation' or one-word sentence has been selected for convenience, with reference to normal speaking style appropriate to unimpassioned statement or reply. The three tones postulated are numbered 1, 2 and 3 for convenience here.

Tone 1 is characterized by 'clear' voice, tenseness and shortness of the vowel nucleus, high pitch, and final glottalization.

Tone 2, the tone of most frequent occurrence statistically, is also characterized by 'clear' voice. The vowel nucleus is less tense and of longer duration than that of Tone 1 syllables, and the pitch is middle or high-middle falling to low, or mid-low. There is never a final glottal check.

Tone 3 is characterized by either 'breathy' voice or by creak. The vowel-nucleus tends to be lax, and may be lengthened. The pitch may be low-level, or, more frequently, falling from mid-low to low or very low. When the vowel-nucleus is not lengthened, a final consonant may be glottalized.

The three tones are here distinguished by a superscript figure 1, 2 or 3 before the syllable to which their relevance applies. Certain initial syllables

9. For 'syllabic place', see Eugénie J. A. Henderson, 'Notes on the Syllable Structure of Lushai', BSOAS XII, 713 et seq.

in disyllabic words (which are those mentioned as phonetic monosyllables) carry no distinctive tone and are left unmarked.

2.10. Such marks are applied, with the exception noted, to all syllables of non-verbs. Verbs are formally distinguished from non-verbs by being characterized by word-tone, rather than syllable-tone, whereby the verbal operator particles *deŋ*, *təŋ*, *gaŋ*, *maŋ*, *baŋ* etc., are considered as tonally neutral, and whose prosodic characteristics are predictable from those of the verb with which they are colligated.<sup>10</sup> These, therefore, need no tone-mark. Such unmarked syllables differ from the unmarked syllables of non-verbs by being non-initial, and hence no ambiguity can arise.

2.2. It has been found possible to describe all Boro syllables in terms of the following placed features:—

- (a) One of 28 possible consonantal initials (Section 2.21).
- (b) One of 6 possible vowel nuclei.
- (c) Length of vowel (cf. Section 2.22).
- (d) One of 9 possible consonantal finals.
- (e) The glottal stop (cf. Section 2.230).

Not less than two (i.e., the first and second) not more than four of these places may be filled in any one syllable, and (c) and (e) are mutually exclusive. (a) is referred to as the 'syllable-initial', and such of (b) to (e) as occur are referred to collectively as the 'syllable-final'.

2.21. The possible syllable-initials are the following:—

TABLE 2

SIMPLE	Plosive	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
	Fricative					<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>h</i>
	Nasal		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
	Liquid				<i>l</i> , <i>r</i>				
	Constricted		<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		
COMPLEX	Rhotacized	<i>pr</i>	<i>br</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>dr</i>	<i>sr</i>	<i>zr</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>gr</i>
	Lateralized		<i>bl</i>		<i>dl</i>			<i>kl</i>	<i>gl</i>

Zero is also regarded as commuting within the system of initial alternances.

No correlation has been observed between syllable-initial and tone, except possibly in the case of *h* (cf. Section 1.22).

10. For 'colligation', see references in my 'Two Studies in Gurungkurs', loc. cit., p. 115 f.n.



2.22. Any vowel (cf. Section 1.0) can appear as the nucleus of a syllable. The relations between vowel-quality and tone have been discussed under the headings of the different vowels above.

All vowels may be accompanied by length in syllables not closed by the glottal stop, and length has not been recorded in the few cases of syllables closed by other stops. In the style of utterance being considered here these are restricted to 2S and certain 3S, although in other conditions—e.g., non-final syllables—the nucleus of 1S may be lengthened in certain contexts, e.g. of surprise or emphasis.

2.23. The possible consonantal finals are :—*b, d, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w* and *y*. For *b* and *d* as finals, see Section 1.200; for *w* and *y* see Section 1.26.

Final *l* appears to be restricted to loanwords, e.g., <sup>2</sup>*pen*<sup>3</sup>*sol*, from English 'pencil'; <sup>2</sup>*pal*<sup>2</sup>*tu*, from Urdū 'fāltū', 'spare'.

The other finals need no comment.

2.230. The glottal stop is a phonetic feature restricted to 1S and some 3S in certain contexts only, and although it is valid to assign place to it in syllable structure it is not necessary to consider it as commuting in the system of final alternances, since owing to its relation to tone and to its occurrence in sentence-final position only (i.e., in junction with pause) it is to be considered as a prosodic rather than as a phonematic feature. Furthermore, it can occupy a definite place after other consonant-finals, which other consonants cannot.

2.24. A table of the recorded syllable-finals, as defined in Section 2.2, is given below.

TABLE 3

i:	e:	a:	o:	o:	u:
i?	e?	a?	o?	o?	u?
	eb	ab		ob	ub
		ad			ud
i:m	e:m	a:m	o:m	o:m	u:m
im?	em?	am?	om?	om?	um?
i:n	e:n	a:n	o:n	o:n	u:n
in?	en?	an?	on?	on?	un?
i:ŋ	e:ŋ	a:ŋ	o:ŋ	o:ŋ	u:ŋ
iŋ?	eŋ?	aŋ?	oŋ?	oŋ?	uŋ?
i:r	e:r	a:r	o:r	o:r	u:r
ir?	er?	ar?	or?	or?	ur?
		(a:l)		(o:l)	
		a:w	o:w		
		aw?	ow?		
		a:y	o:y		
		ay?	oy?		

Here the realization of length or glottal stop depends on the tone of the syllable of which the above expressions constitute the final, and therefore, provided the tone is marked or otherwise implied, need not be signified in a phonological transcription. (Since, however, there are three tones, this principle in reverse—i.e., that length be indicated and that tone be inferred therefrom—cannot apply.) We may, then, simplify the table above by writing, in the phonological transcription, as follows:—

TABLE 4

i	e	a	ə	o	u
	eb	ab		ob	ub
		ad			ud
im	em	am	om	om	um
in	en	an	on	on	un
ij	ej	aj	oj	oj	uj
ir	er	ar	or	or	ur
		(al)		(ol)	
		aw	ow		
		ay	oy		

2.3. The Boro script is cumbersome with regard to its indication of the tones: this is effected partly by diacritics such as the *virāma* and *visarga* signs, partly by a variation of symbol either initially or finally (e.g., by the use of the characters for the dental and retroflex series in the Assamese script, which are not distinguished in the utterance of Boro.). This cannot be illustrated here owing to the non-availability of the necessary founts; it is hoped that an account of the phonetic interpretation of the Boro script will be possible shortly, but this must of necessity be published elsewhere.



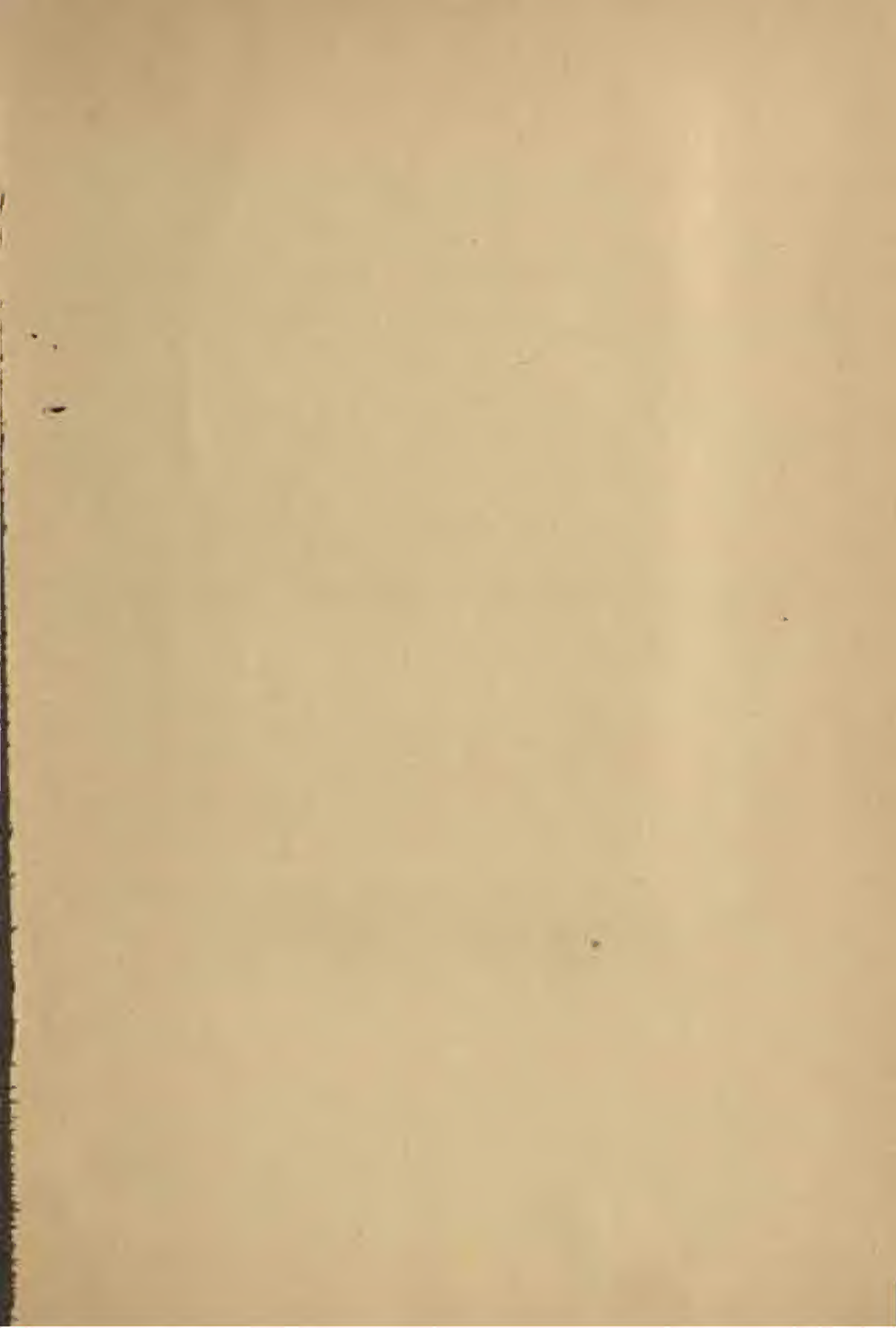


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